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By Richard Ager Newhall.

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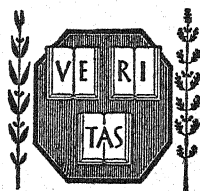
Muster and Review

A Problem of English Military Administration 1420-1440

BY

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Cambridge

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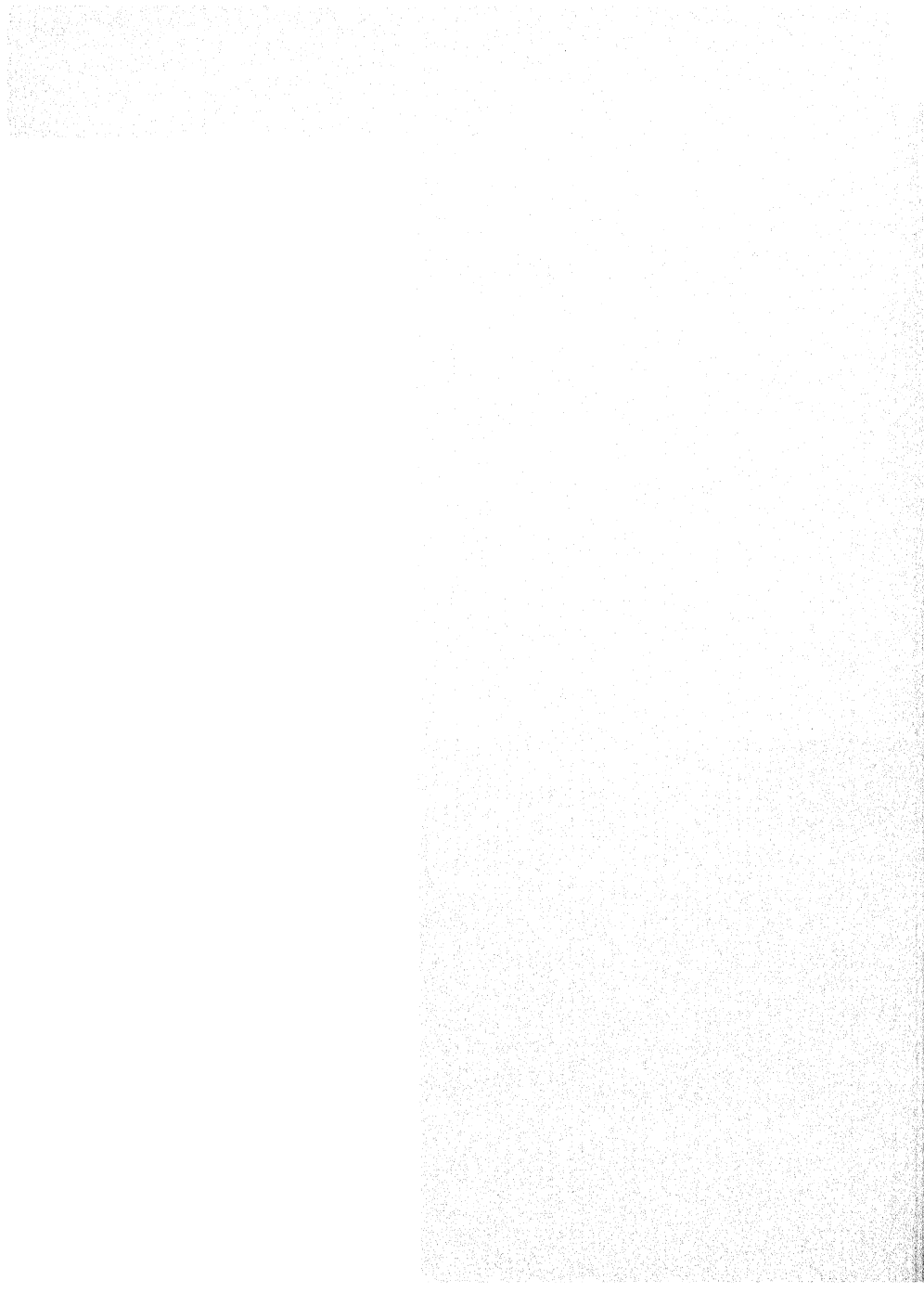
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To

E. B. N.



PREFACE

THIS monograph is part of a study of military and financial affairs relative to the English in France during the first half of the fifteenth century, which I have been pursuing for some years. This particular investigation has been carried only to 1441, when the Duke of York assumed for the second time direction of the Norman administration. Such limitation is partly due to the mass of scattered, manuscript material which puts very real physical restrictions upon research, but it is also due to the belief that the years here considered are the period during which the English administrative system in Normandy was functioning at its best, such as that was, and that the following period saw the disintegration and failure of that system, a subject worthy of separate investigation.

At first glance the records here utilized may not appear either attractive or important. For the most part they do not deal with great events, but rather with a monotonous succession of alarums and excursions lacking any political or military results. Approached from the English side of the Channel they do not relate to activities enjoying the glamor of success, while for the French the figure of Jeanne d'Arc and the fact of ultimate national victory have distracted scholars from any great concern with these affairs, always excepting the local historians, antiquaries, and genealogists whose chief interest is in names. But if a problem of institutions is regarded as a practical matter, a means by

which, in some gone age, the men who managed the mechanics of government sought to produce results of immediate utility to themselves; and if we realize (as who in our time does not?) that the stress of struggle in crises speeds up the process of institutional experiment; and if it may be accepted as true that new attitudes of mind take shape along with experimental changes in administration, attitudes which help to shape the new epoch that grows out of every old epoch, then a careful study of a lot of obscure documents on "merely military" matters may hope to find some things which have an element of historical significance hitherto ignored.

The opportunity to collect the materials for this study was offered by a sabbatical leave from Williams College and a grant in aid from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. Thanks and acknowledgment to the authorities of those two institutions are now put on record. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge gratefully the courtesies received from those in charge of the manuscript rooms at the British Museum and the Public Record Office in London, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Archives Nationales in Paris, and the libraries and departmental archives in Caen, Evreux, Rouen, and St. Lô.

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MUSTER AND REVIEW

A PROBLEM OF ENGLISH MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

1420-1440

THE EXTENT to which a government or a commander exercises control over the personnel of an army in large measure determines the effectiveness of military power. In the feudal age when the loyal performance of hereditary, contractual obligations, existing between lord and vassals, determined the efficiency of fighting forces such control was notoriously lacking. When, in the later Middle Ages, the indenture system for raising armies was introduced, it gave opportunity for developments in the exercise of central authority, which must have contributed to that growth of state power now recognized as one of the characteristics of the period. This new system still rested upon a contractual basis, but the indenture was a temporary and specialized contract of a definite and detailed sort. By its very nature it recognized the legal right of the king, or his representative, to enforce the terms of the contract. If a campaign of only six months in the field was involved such enforcement would be simple enough. But in the second quarter of the fifteenth century the English were maintaining a permanent military occupation in part of France. This required more and more persistent supervision than anything hitherto and thus brought about experiments in administrative efficiency, which are

interesting to the student of institutions. The mechanisms for muster and review are among these experiments.

By indenture each captain contracted with the king to provide a stipulated number of men-at-arms and archers, "bien montez, armes et araeiez comme a leur estatz il appartient," for a certain period of time, agreeing to make musters of his retinue from time to time before such persons as the king appointed.¹ In return for the services of these men the king agreed to pay wages. The system of muster and review determined the amount of wages to be paid at any particular date. Whether or not the king actually obtained the service to which he was entitled, and for which he paid, depended upon the efficiency of that system. From the numerous muster rolls, commissions of array, and other relevant documents it is possible to study the ways in which the royal authorities attempted to control the situation.

The early commissions of array under Henry V are quite simple, particularly those for the army in the field. They are merely directions from the king to designated commissioners, usually two, requiring them to take the muster of the men-at-arms and archers in the retinue of

¹ See specimen indentures for 1415 in T. Rymer, *Foedera*, 10 vols. (London, 1745), IV, part 2, pp. 114-115, 126; for garrison indentures see Bib. Nat., P.O. 504, section 11420, No. 6 (Sir William Breton as captain of Caen, Oct. 3, 1421) and Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11531 (Sir John Hanford as captain of St. Germain, Sept. 26, 1424). Indentures made in England in February 1424 stipulated monthly musters. P.R.O., Ex. Accts. E 101/71, 2, Nos. 806-811. See also the study by A. E. Prince, "The Indenture System under Edward III" in *Historical Essays in Honor of James Tait* (Manchester, 1933), No. 22, pp. 283-298.

so-and-so and to certify to the king, under their seals, as to the numbers and the sufficiency of the equipment "juxta formam indenturae."² The commissions are in Latin and the same language or English is used in the preambles of the muster rolls. The latter do not have the uniformity and the informing character in Henry V's time, which subsequently developed. They are not always adequately dated. They often fail to show the place of muster. Frequently they do not name the commissioners of array. The signatures, seals and certifications of the latter do not always appear.³

The years 1419 and 1420 were those in which the problems of effective military occupation began to appear. There are indications that the treasury administration and the military were experimenting with the practical questions of supervision involved in the matter of muster and pay. This is the time when appointments were made to the offices of treasurer-general of Normandy and seneschal. Although these two positions were filled at about the same time it is the civilian treasurer who seems to have been the active agent in mustering and inspecting garrisons.⁴ It is suggested that the

² Rymer, IV, part 2, pp. 130, 137; part 3, p. 55; part 4, p. 9: T. D. Hardy, *Rotuli Normanniae* (London, 1835), pp. 230, 357-359. These should not be confused with the commissions of array issued in the various English counties when the "militia" was called out for home defense. These latter required no careful enumeration as a basis for pay, hence the need for central supervision and exercise of authority over details was absent.

³ For examples see P.R.O., Ex. Accts. 48/6, 48/17, 48/19, 48/20, 49/19, 49/20, 50/22; Bib. Nat., fr. 25775, No. 1363.

⁴ For details and references see R. A. Newhall, *The English Conquest of Normandy* (New Haven, 1924), pp. 244-245, and W. T. Waugh, "The Administration of Normandy, 1420-22" in *Essays in Mediaeval History presented to Thomas Frederick Tout* (Manchester, 1925), pp. 353-354, and J. H.

question of muster involves a conflict of interest between civilian and soldier. The treasurer is not himself primarily the captain of a retinue. His aim is to balance his books and to make the money go as far as possible. He tends, therefore, to insist upon the strict enforcement of the terms of the indentures with respect to any matters where money could be saved. The captains are chiefly concerned with receiving their pay. If they muster each other's retainues under the direction of a military official like the seneschal would they be less likely to be held to strict accountability under their indentures? In addition to supervising the numbers and equipment of the soldiers the royal administration aimed to create a situation in which all soldiers in garrison abode in the castle and not elsewhere,⁵ in which no English fighting men except the garrison were permitted to remain in any town or castle,⁶ and in which all soldiers in garrison should be in royal pay.⁷ Such conditions would better enable the government to control the soldiery.

The working of the mustering system in the early stages of the revived seneschalate can only be surmised from glimpses which a fragmentary record affords. To what extent Sir Hugh Luterell, the first English seneschal, functioned as a mustering officer is obscure. He

Wylie-W. T. Waugh, *The Reign of Henry V*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1914-1929), III, 242-243.

⁵ See orders of Aug. 18, 1419. Rôles de Brèquigny 648 (*Mém. Soc. des Antiquaires de la Normandie*, vol. xxiii. Caen, 1858).

⁶ See orders of Oct. 10, 1419. *Ibid.*, 675.

⁷ Royal commission of April 16, 1420 to Salisbury empowered him to supervise garrisons, with the aid of the treasurer and seneschal, not only to see that they were sufficient but also "quod ipsi soldarios huiusmodi penes se ad vadia nostra retineant." *Ibid.*, 824.

certainly did not monopolize that activity. Within six weeks of the earliest mention of the seneschal, on Aug. 27, 1419, the treasurer was commissioned to array the garrisons of Normandy either quarterly or half-yearly, and his account book shows that he was travelling about reviewing garrisons in the region of Caen, Falaise and the Cotentin, reporting to Salisbury, the king's lieutenant.⁸ It may be that in 1419 merely the title of seneschal was revived, and that the mustering and supervising functions of the office really began in April 1420, when commission was issued to Luterell and Holgill to array the garrisons in most of the Norman bailliages, and Luterell was empowered to supervise the local civilian officials likewise.⁹ These were the powers

⁸ Calendar of the Norman Rolls in *Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, vol. XLII (London, 1881), p. 325; the first account of William Alington (May 1, 1419–April 30, 1420), P.R.O., Ex. Accts. 187/14, mm. 20^{vo}–21^{ro}. The fact that this account makes no mention of the seneschal and that the account of Simon Fleet, treasurer of Harfleur, records no absence of Luterell from his post of lieutenant at Harfleur until Feb. 11, 1420 (*ibid.*, Ex. Accts. 48/7, f. 16) is hard to reconcile with the mention of the seneschal (name illegible) negotiating the surrender of Avranches, July 14, 1419 (Rôles de Brèquigny 215; for the date see Newhall, *op. cit.*, p. 138, note 278). The commission of July 26, 1419 mentions Luterell as seneschal and relates to affairs at Harfleur, but this does not necessarily mean that he was at Harfleur at that time. Rôles de Brèquigny 640. Early in August 1419 there were other commissions of array to civilian officials and to Salisbury. Calendar *ut supra*, pp. 322, 325. It is recognized, of course, that the distinction between civilian and military offices was not as sharply drawn in the fifteenth century as now, but if this is remembered no confusion need arise from using these terms in the manner now common.

⁹ April 15 and 17, 1420. *Ibid.*, p. 372. Is there any significance in the fact that this does not include the area where Alington was inspecting in 1419? The calendar reads "William Holgyll," but it seems possible that Thomas Holgill is referred to. He was one of the chief royal purveyors, and on May 1, 1420 became responsible for provisioning the garrisons of the

which belonged traditionally to the office of seneschal, yet we note that power to muster was conferred by special commission, and that Woodville, Luterell's successor, describes himself as "Senescallus Normannie — ac commissarius auctoritate regia deputatus ad videndum et recipiendum monstra sive monstraciones quorumcumque capitaneorum ac omnium hominem ad arma et sagittariorum in ducatu Normannie et partie conquete."¹⁰ The impression of concurrent jurisdiction over mustering on the part of the treasurer-general and the seneschal is confirmed by royal letters patent of

Seine and Upper Normandy. *Ibid.*, p. 369. It would be efficient to join him to the seneschal for inspection and muster. A muster roll of June 1, 1422 for Montivillers shows these two acting together, although Luterell was no longer seneschal. Arch. Nat., K 60, No. 19. For April 18, 1420 there is a commission of array to Thomas Barneby and William Ober to muster Sir Hugh Luterell, seneschal of Normandy, and his retinue. Bib. Nat., fr. 26043, No. 5508. If there was a new appointment or indenture at this time it would ordinarily have been accompanied by a commission of array such as this.

¹⁰ In commissions of array for June 8, 1423 and June 29, 1424. Bib. Nat., fr. 26046, No. 78; fr. 26047, No. 284. This distinction of function also appears in Woodville's commission as seneschal (March 11, 1423 n.s.) where his functions are described at length and authority to perform them is conferred, when follows the additional and separate clause "et avec ce lui avons donne et donnons et a ses commis de par lui povoir et auctorite de recevoir veoir et visiter monstres et reveues et de faire tout ce qui appartient audit cas au prouffit et utilite de nous." R. Sauvage, *Une Procédure devant la Sénéchaussée de Normandie en 1423* (Caen, 1911), p. 14. Similarly in his earliest surviving commission of array (March 17, 1423 n.s.), which is actually a letter patent rather than a commission, addressed to his deputy, Woodville entitles himself "grant seneschal de Normendie et commis en ceste partie du Roy — et de monseigneur le Regent," and appoints deputies "par vertu de la commission a nous donnee et commise par le Roy — et mondit seigneur le Regent." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11494. In May 1425 Oldhall, as seneschal, took musters "virtute officii sui." *Ibid.*, 11536. See below note 75.

Aug. 22, 1420 by which the king again commissioned William Alington, the treasurer-general, to take the musters of all the Norman garrisons either quarterly or half-yearly, in person or by deputies, reporting the names as well as the array to the Chamber of Accounts.¹¹ The king himself continued to issue commissions of array for particular garrisons. In these circumstances we may wonder where lay the co-ordinating authority whose business it was to see that every retinue mustered every quarter before its captain was paid.¹² If this func-

¹¹ See commission of array, Nov. 20, 1420, issued by Alington to his deputies, John Brynkele and Richard Hammes, for the garrison of Falaise. Arch. du Calvados, F Fonds Danquin, Falaise. (It is very possible that this *fond* has been re-catalogued since my notes were taken and that this document now bears a number.) Since this was not a royal order it is not mentioned in the Norman Rolls. At the time of Luterell's commission as seneschal (April 1420) royal commissions to Alington to make certain special musters and inspections were issued. Rôles de Brèquigny 818; Calendar *ut supra*, p. 372.

¹² Muster roll of Montivillers, June 1, 1422, mentions royal commissioners. Arch. Nat., K 60, No. 19. There is a royal commission of Aug. 28, 1422 in Rôles de Brèquigny 1148. After Henry V's death commissions in Henry VI's name were issued with similar format and in the same handwriting as before. Clauses were added directing attention to equipment and horses, and ordering report to Bedford as governor of Normandy and to the treasurer-general, who at this date was also seneschal. There are two such commissions, both dated Oct. 6, 1422, one to John Burgh esquire, bailli of Gisors, and John Wenlok for the garrisons of Gournay and Gaillard, the other to Sir William Breton, bailli of Caen, and William Rothelane for all the garrisons in the bailliage of Cotentin. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 85, 86. Waugh asserts that Woodville as seneschal could not delegate his authority (*op. cit.*, p. 354). His commission (Jan. 18, 1421 n.s. Rôles de Brèquigny 924) shows this to be true in his capacity as supervisor of justice, and contains no clause about his lieutenants or commissioners for mustering, but when we find the roll of muster taken at Falaise, March 20, 1421 n.s., by Sir William Hudelston, bailli of Alençon, addressed "To the Seneshalle of Normandie" (Brit. Mus., Eg. Ch. 146), it seems probable that Sir William was acting as a deputy. The

tion was performed in the office of the Treasurer of War, or by some household official, there is no evidence of it.¹³

There is no reason to believe that the appointment of Richard Woodville, in January 1421, to the office of seneschal marks any change in policy. His commission empowered him to supervise the commanders of all garrisons with respect to their provisions and equipment, and to inspect retinues from time to time to see that the numbers were maintained according to the indentures, sending the names to the treasurer-general.¹⁴ Woodville had been bailli of Gisors for two years,¹⁵ and he continued, during 1421, as captain of the garrisons of Gisors and Chaumont, even after becoming seneschal, maintaining at one time in garrison and "por chivacher"

earliest surviving commission of array issued to deputies by the seneschal is dated March 17, 1423 n.s. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11494. See below note 50. The seneschal's own commission directs him to send the names of all soldiers and how many were mounted to the treasurer-general. Nothing in the record warrants the supposition that there was any geographical division of jurisdiction between seneschal and treasurer.

¹³ See below p. 23 relative to Thomas West. The fact that the account of Sir William Philip, Treasurer of War (P.R.O., For. Accts. 69, F^{ro} ff.), shows nothing on this matter is insufficient proof that there was nothing. The nature of that account, as preserved, is such that detail of this sort would not necessarily be included.

¹⁴ Rôles de Brèquigny 924. He was also to see to the enforcement of royal ordinances intended to protect the people from the soldiers, a matter very closely connected with the paying of wages, and to supervise the administration of the local civilian officials. On the same day he was appointed "magister general reformatoris omnium forestorum et silvarum nostrarum" in Maine. *Calendar ut supra*, p. 398.

¹⁵ Appointed Nov. 16, 1419. Rôles de Brèquigny 690. When Woodville became seneschal John Bourgh succeeded him as bailli. *Calendar ut supra*, p. 397.

over two hundred and fifty fighting men,¹⁶ a considerable force according to the standards of the day.¹⁷ It is possible that this appointment concentrated somewhat the business of muster in the seneschal's hands.¹⁸ During the period from Sept. 1, 1422 until Jan. 16, 1423 n.s., when Woodville was both seneschal and treasurer-general, such concentration would be automatic, but the shortness of this period indicates that the arrangement was only temporary and not a new policy. Commissions of array were still issued in the king's name.¹⁹

Evidence of difficulties appears in royal orders of May 22, 1421 forbidding soldiers to leave one retinue for another, and prohibiting captains from taking or

¹⁶ P.R.O., For. Accts. 69, P^{vo}, m. 1 and Ex. Accts. 49/37. At Gisors were twelve mounted lances, eight foot lances and sixty archers; at Chaumont four mounted lances and twelve archers; the seneschal's retinue was thirty mounted lances and one hundred and twenty-two archers. A muster roll of ten lances and thirty archers of this retinue dated Feb. 22, 1421 n.s. is in Bib. Nat., fr. 25766, No. 797.

¹⁷ In 1417 only ten of the eighty-one retinues in the invading army were as large or larger. Harvard University Library, HU 90.1215, app. vii.

¹⁸ Alington's third and fourth accounts (April 30, 1421-Aug. 31, 1422) show no mustering activities. P.R.O., For. Accts. 61; Ex. Accts. 188/7. For the initial date of Woodville's term as treasurer-general see Bib. Nat., fr. 26044, No. 5750. When Woodville took muster in person he did so as treasurer-general. *Ibid.*, fr. 25766, No. 803. Warrant of July 1, 1423 (*ibid.*, fr. 26046, No. 84) and letter of expedition of July 9, 1423 (Arch. du Calvados, F Danquin 2) mention payment to Woodville, formerly treasurer-general and now Grand Seneschal, "les gaiges et Regards de quatre ecus dor par chacun jour quil sera ouduit office de Seneschal accommencier du jour quil fut descharge dudit office de tresorier general qui fut le xvi^e jour de Janvier derain passe." It is not necessary from this to infer that the office of seneschal was suspended while he was treasurer-general. It is more probable that the new treasurer-general required a new warrant, addressed to himself, before he would pay the seneschal's wages.

¹⁹ See above note 12.

keeping men belonging to other companies.²⁰ It can readily be seen that, in a situation in which the captain's receipt of wages depended upon his producing the required number of men on muster day, the temptation would be strong to fill any temporary gaps in his ranks with whatever men might be available at the moment. The demand from the treasury for the names and surnames of the individual soldiers indicates a careful scrutiny of each muster roll, and its comparison with previous rolls. A glimpse of such scrutiny appears for the summer of 1425, when the treasury record of a muster at Vernon notes that Pierre Larcevesque is listed as a mounted lance, but that no pay is to be issued for him, "pour ce quil est esleu et doit faire sa residence sur son office a Gisors." ²¹

The rolls were made in duplicate, one for the captain and one for the treasury. This appears from the fact that some of the many rolls which have survived are indented at either the top or side.²² Occasionally there

²⁰ Rôles de Brèquigny 995. These difficulties had appeared earlier and similar orders are found in the regulations issued at Mante, perhaps in 1419. S. Bentley, *Excerpta historica* (London, 1833), p. 33.

²¹ Bib. Nat., fr. 4491, f. 68. Possibly this reflects the efficiency brought into the treasury administration in January 1423 n.s. by Belknap and Surreau, the newly appointed officials.

²² For the period between Sept. 19, 1422 and July 15, 1436 I have found fifteen such, not a large percentage of the record. Bib. Nat., fr. 25768, No. 288; fr. 25770, No. 720; fr. 25771, No. 770; fr. 25773, Nos. 1060, 1081, 1120; fr. 25775, No. 1363; Arch. Nat., K 62, Nos. 4, 7⁶, 18¹⁹, 25⁴; Brit. Mus., Eg. Ch. 149; Bib. de Caen, MSS Mancel XVI. 39; Bib. de Rouen, MS Mart. 199/6, Nos. 1, 21. In one instance both rolls have survived, a muster of the retinue of the bailli of Caux on Dec. 16, 1426. Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 25²¹; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11569. But these raise new questions. They seem to be in the same hand but apparently they were not written at the same time because the abbreviations are different. One lists a complete bailli's retinue

are other devices employed to guard against falsification. A series of parallel lines, or a complicated curved line, would be used to cover the parchment at the end of the list of names to prevent the insertion of additional names.²³ Sometimes, when a long roll required two or more membranes to be sewn together, the mustering officers took the precaution of writing their names over the seam to prevent the insertion or substitution of a membrane.²⁴ Any erasure of date in the commission of array required a note signed by the clerk as guarantee of authenticity.²⁵ Possibly these precautions were not characteristic of the early twenties but were resorted to after the treasury felt the need of safeguard against fraud. They never became general.

of two men-at-arms and twenty-four archers all pointed and marked "a cheval." The other lists the same men-at-arms and eighteen of the archers. In the latter the order of names, which is quite arbitrary, is the same as in the former, with one variation, but none of them are pointed. The significant thing, however, about this second list is that at the bottom it has a "somme" of the numbers, and it is signed by both commissioners. Apparently this is the record of the actual muster. There is no record of payment for this period with which to check the muster record. Presumably, in the other instances, the treasury copies are the survivors. In November 1423 Sir Thomas Carewe petitioned the Council in England explaining that he was unable to collect pay for a force of over nine hundred men, who had served under him at sea for six months in 1417, because the Duke of Clarence and Lord FitzHugh, the mustering officers, had lost the muster roll. He asked for settlement based on his indenture "et par la copie del monstre avaunt ditz remaynant en la garde du dit suppliant." *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Priory Council of England*, 7 vols. (London, 1834), III, 126. See below Note 150.

²³ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1102, 11871, 11878. These are in 1428 and 1435.

²⁴ Muster roll for Neufchâtel, Dec. 28, 1437. Bib Nat., Clairambault 201, pp. 8459-61, Nos. 63-65.

²⁵ In a commission for Avranches, March 23, 1430 n.s., "de Marz" was written in over an erasure. At the end was a note duly signed, "je approuve la Rateure de Marz comme dessus." Brit. Mus., Eg. Ch. 157.

In the period prior to the abandonment in 1425 of the office of seneschal, there continued to be a certain absence of uniformity in the muster rolls. Some were in Latin,²⁶ others were in English,²⁷ but most of them were in French. The names of the commissioners were not always given, and there was no certification by them of the correctness of the muster. Even the name of the captain, to whom payment of wages according to the muster would be made, was sometimes omitted.²⁸ The muster was not always made during the period of service for which payment was to be made,²⁹ or mere affirmation by the captain might, in some circumstances, be substituted, if no muster had been made.³⁰ At the same time

²⁶ Between June 1, 1422, and May 1, 1425 there are six musters in Latin, none of later date. Arch. Nat., K 60, No. 19; K 62, Nos. 4, 7²; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 93, 11536; Eg. Ch. 149.

²⁷ Between Dec. 20, 1420 and June 23, 1424 there are seven in English. Arch. Nat., K 59, No. 29²; Bib. Nat., fr. 25767, Nos. 52, 56; fr. 26278, No. 6; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 89, 91, 11319; Eg. Ch. 146.

²⁸ Bib. Nat., fr. 25766, Nos. 794, 808, 814; fr. 25775, No. 1363; Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 7⁸; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 91; Eg. Ch. 146, 149. There is one muster roll of Salisbury's retinue, July 1, 1424, listing names which a conscientious treasury official probably found inadequate. Many of them were single names which look like nick-names: "lanceman, Lelorrain, Le franc, Le picart, Vaillant, loncle, pleinepot, lambequin." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11520.

²⁹ Woodville, as treasurer-general, mustered the garrison of Vire, Oct. 12, 1422, for service during the quarter ending 29 September. Bib. Nat., fr. 25766, No. 803. Similar muster at Arques, Oct. 20, 1422 (*ibid.*, fr. 25767, No. 3), Touque, 21 October (*ibid.*, fr. 25766, No. 812), and Domfront, 24 December (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11483). Was this confusion due to the summary dismissal of Alington before the end of the fiscal year? Newhall, p. 178.

³⁰ Dec. 16, 1422, Bedford to treasurer-general, warrant for paying Sir Raoul Boutellier, captain of Gamaches, for service since Michaelmas, "Pourveu que ledit capp^{ne} afferme sollempnelment par son serement avoir tenu et tenir continuelment audit lieu le nombre de gens darmes et de trait dont en ladite endenture est faicte mencion." Bib. Nat., P.O. 477, Bouteillier, No. 105.

the rolls begin to be more informing, and to show signs that the commissioners are reporting irregularities in more detail. Ordinarily each name on the roll is marked with a dot ("pointed" was the technical expression), or with as many dots as there were commissioners, indicating that each one of them checked the list. Some names are marked with a cross, meaning failure to pass muster because of inadequate equipment. Some names are marked "prisonnier," "vacant," "into Ingland," "malade." On one occasion there is a note that three out of the six men-at-arms at Caudebec have but one horse apiece.³¹ On other occasions justification for absence is noted, particularly absence in the royal service, the commissioners at Montivillers in one instance recording of such absentees "mes en consideracion de bon conscience il sount trouves allowables."³²

In January 1423 a new regime was set up at the treasury with the appointment of Hamon Belknap as treasurer-general, and Pierre Surreau as receiver-general. They were both experienced civilians, who had held other financial offices. Woodville continued as seneschal, but when his appointment was renewed, an action necessitated presumably by the new reign, emphasis was laid upon the judicial character of his office. This may have been merely a phase of the policy which

³¹ Arch. Nat., K 59, No. 29³; Bib. Nat., fr. 25766, Nos. 800, 807; Brit. Mus., Eg. Ch. 146; Add. Ch. 89. On a roll for Fresnay, April 9, 1426, is a note "Lesquelles monstres se montent en hommes darmes xiiii dont deux sont croisez comme non suffisans et un mort." Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 25². On a roll of Aug. 8, 1428 is written "des quelx hommes darmes et archiers nous avons reffuse ceulx dessus croisez et non pointes en teste." Bib. Nat., fr. 25768, No. 291.

³² June 1, 1422. Arch. Nat., K 60, No. 19: cf. P.R.O., Ex. Accts. 50/22.

sought to give the appearance of a Plantagenet revival. The power to take musters was also expressly, if briefly, renewed.³³ For more than two years he continued to hold office, although the extent to which he exercised its functions in person may be queried. The new treasury officials, however, began to use their position to enforce efficiency upon the supervision of garrisons and retinues. This policy is revealed by the appearance of special warrants from the Regent Bedford directing payment to

³³ For the date of the treasury change see above note 18. Belknap had been treasurer of the Regent's household. Surreau had been receiver of the *prévôté* of Paris, and of the counties of Ponthieu and of Beaumont-sur-Oise. He had also been a judge. J. Félix ed., *Inventaire de Pierre Surreau* (Rouen, 1892), p. 24, note 1; p. 32, note 2; *Calendar ut supra*, p. 449; *Rôles de Brèquigny* 1328. The text of Woodville's commission of March 11, 1423 n.s. is published by Sauvage *op. cit.* Another copy is in Bib. Nat., fr. 26046, No. 47. There is a commission of array issued by him March 17, 1423 n.s. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11494. Sauvage's article names John Saint (or Seynt) as Woodville's lieutenant-general. The same man had been receiver-general under Woodville's administration as treasurer-general. See quittance of Jan. 8, 1423 n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 26046, No. 32. He had previously been captain of Touque from April 3, 1421 n.s. (*Rôles de Brèquigny* 983; P.R.O., For. Accts. 61, C^{vo}; Ex. Accts. 187/15, m. 6) until Oct. 31, 1422, when Andrew Ogard's retinue made first muster at Touque. Bib. Nat., fr. 25766, Nos. 812, 815. When Woodville became captain of Caen in 1423 Saint became his lieutenant in actual command of the garrison. See muster roll of Sept. 19, 1423. Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 7⁴; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 93; Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, pp. 198-200. June 5, 1423 Woodville mustered with his seneschal's retinue. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11500. Surreau, in his account book for 1424-1425, quotes at length the portion of the seneschal's commission dealing with his judicial duties but ignores his military ones. Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, p. 162. At about the time of the administrative change at the treasury Woodville was made a member of the Norman Council with an allowance of £100 a year as long as he remained in Normandy. Warrant of July 1, 1423 ordered payment of this from 1 February. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6815. This was worth 666 l. 1 s. 4 d.t., and may have been intended as a monetary solace for losing the treasurer-generalship, which paid 600 l.t. a year. Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, pp. 160-161.

captains whose wages were being withheld by the treasury because of laxity in the administration of mustering. The Earl of Warwick, captain of Rouen, complained that more than half his garrison had been refused their wages for the quarter beginning April 15, 1423, because they had not made muster at Rouen during the quarter, the reason for this failure being that the Regent had ordered them into the field for the campaign against Le Crottoy.³⁴ This same campaign made trouble for Sir William Breton, bailli of Caen and captain of Bayeux, part of whose retinues had been ordered to join the besieging army. He explained that he had maintained his whole company during that quarter, "neantmoins soubz umbre de ce que lesdiz hommes et archiers alerent ausdiz sieges si tost ne en tel nombre qui leur avoit este commande et enioinet et que avant quilz partissent dudit bailliage pour y aler ilz ne fuent aucunes monstres du temps que ilz avoient servi durant ledit quartier" the treasurer refused payment. The Regent had to give special orders for payment notwithstanding the lack of musters.³⁵ Within six months Sir William was again in difficulties, this time over his service under a new indenture made in September 1423, which stipulated service from Michaelmas. "Neantmoins," wrote the

³⁴ Warrant from Bedford to Belknap, Oct. 21, 1423, and letter of expedition from Belknap to Surreau of the same date. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6818-6819. Warwick had been paid for these men for their services in the field, but could not collect for their service in garrison. The dispute apparently held up the pay of the whole garrison for that quarter.

³⁵ Warrant, Nov. 2, 1423; letter of expedition, Nov. 4, 1423. Bib. Nat., fr. 26046, Nos. 151, 153. When the bailli's retinue mustered at Caen, May 20, 1423, two lances and four archers were marked "at Crottoy." The same was done for the Bayeux garrison of which the bailli was captain. *Ibid.*, fr. 25767, Nos. 17-18.

Regent to Belknap, "pour ce que obstant ce que de puis notre dite Retenue nous le feismes demourer devers nous tant a Mante comme en ceste ville de Rouen par long temps par quoy il na peu faire ses monstres desdictes gens et archiers dedens le temps ne en la maniere quil appartient et ainsi quil est expressement contenu esdictes endentures par lesquelles est dit quil ne prenra gaiges que du jour de ses premieres monstres vous avez este et estes Reffusans de lui paier lesdiz gaiges et Regards de lui et de dictes gens darmes et archiers de sa dicte Retenue pour la quartier dessusdit en son grief et preiudice." The treasury was ordered to pay Sir William as if he had mustered at Michaelmas.³⁶ On another occasion the Earl of Suffolk, captain of St. Lô, complained that pay for the period July 17–Sept. 28, 1423 was refused because musters were not made until October 9–10 (i.e. after the end of the period), and he further complained that the men who were killed or captured at La Brossonière on 26 September were disallowed for the whole period because they were absent from those musters.³⁷ Even when delay was due to unavoidable war conditions, such as the fact that the commissioners could not get to Vire to muster the garrison until Oct. 20, 1423 "pour doubte des ennemis qui estoient lors devant Avranches et ou pais denviron," the treasury, with that meticulous tenacity characteristic of bureaucratic efficiency, would not pay for the service of the quarter previous to the date of muster without a

³⁶ Warrant, Jan. 24, 1424 n.s. *Ibid.*, fr. 26047, No. 203. The first muster had been on Nov. 14, 1423. *Ibid.*, No. 229. See also *ibid.*, fr. 4485, pp. 196–197, 220.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 324–325.

new and special warrant.³⁸ Probably the auditors in the Chamber of Accounts would have disallowed any payment without this authorization. One wonders if there is echo of the Regent's annoyance at the treasury's insistence in a letter from Belknap to Surreau directing payment "au Sire de Scalles lieutenant de mondits^r le Regent, cap^{no} et garde des villes, chasteaulx et forteresses situez sur la Riviere de Saine et alenviron entre Rouen et Paris, gaiges et Regars de lui banneret et xx autres hommes darmes acheval et lx archiers de sa compaignie pour ung quartier dan commençant le premier jour de Novembre derrein passe, Non obstant quil ne vous appare aucunement des monstres ou Reveues faictes en affaires desdiz gens darmes et archiers et aussi que le fin du dit quartier ne soit point encore acompli comme nous avons en expresse commandement du bouche de mondits^r le Regent."³⁹ There certainly is a

³⁸ Warrant, Jan. 3, 1424 n.s.; letter of expedition, Jan. 8, 1424 n.s. *Ibid.*, fr. 26265, Nos. 121-122. This must have been a first muster under a new indenture.

³⁹ This is from the letter of expedition, Jan. 11, 1424 n.s., which accompanied a copy of the special warrant from the Regent. This latter also granted relief because there was no indenture. Apparently Bedford had had to confirm the warrant by word of mouth. If there was no indenture of course there had been no arrangement for first muster, and pay ordinarily began at that time. Bib. Nat., fr. 26046, Nos. 192-193. Must the effective policing of the Seine by an energetic captain be impeded by the demands of these civilians for records, and for due adherence to forms? Newhall, p. 307 ff. A royal commission was then issued to Walter Charlton to take all the musters of the Seine garrisons between Rouen and Paris. Mentioned in Mante muster roll of Jan. 22, 1424 n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 25767, No. 56. The treasury, however, remained persistent, and when Lord Scales continued to serve without making indenture and without mustering, his pay was again refused until Bedford issued another warrant, Aug. 27, 1424. *Ibid.*, fr. 26047, No. 310; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11521.

note of irritation in Bedford's letter to Stanlaw, Belknap's successor, May 20, 1432, recounting that

notre bien ame Messire Nicole Burdet chlr, cap^{ns} de Carenten, nous a fait exposer que vous estes Refusant et delayant delui faire pour lui et les souldoyers de sa Retenue dudit lieu solution et paiement pour le quartier dan commençant le premier jour d'Octobre derrain passe et finissant le dernier jour du mois de decembre apres ensuit, Pour ce quil ne fist ses monstres jusques au dernier jour dudit mois de decembre qui est, comme vous dictes, trois jours ou environ apres le quartier fini, Et aussi lui faictes Refus de paier les gaiges de lui et de trois archiers dicelle garnison pour ce quil nestoit present au jour dela Recepcion dicelles monstres, En nous Requerant que ce que dit est et quil estoit lors en personne en notre service par notre ordonnance et commandement et avoit estre long temps par avant icellui quartier lui vueillons faire faire paiement pour lui et ceulx dicelle garnison. Pourquoi nous ces choses considerees qui ne voulons pour si petit de faulte ne pour son absence veu quil estoit pardevers nous comme sommes bien Recors sondit paiement estre Retarde.⁴⁰

What this amounts to is insistence by the treasury officials that the system should work as it was supposed to work, but in so doing they were actually exercising authority over the captains, and enforcing it to a degree which was probably novel in its persistence. The double headship of the treasury made a more careful supervision easier, for while warrants were addressed by the Regent to the treasurer-general, payments were made by the receiver-general not on the original warrant but on a letter of expedition from the treasurer. This letter was issued only after the treasury had verified the facts set forth in the warrant, or had looked up any record of delinquencies against the captain, which might justify

⁴⁰ Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 121.

a reduction or "rebate" of his pay. For instance, new indentures read that a captain would be paid for his retinue, not from the day of his appointment but from the day of his first muster at his new place of command. Warrant to pay him would be issued at the time he made indenture, but the treasury would delay issuing a letter of expedition until the first muster roll came in, and would then give the order to pay from the date thereon, and for the number of men who were then present.⁴¹

Scrutiny of the names and surnames on the muster rolls, which has been noted above, was not confined to the rank and file, for even the captain had to pass muster, and when the same individual made indenture for more than one retinue care must be taken to see that he fulfilled his obligations with the company specified in the contract and not elsewhere, and that he did not collect double wages for himself. Each indenture stipulated whether or not the captain was included in the retinue, the warrant for payment and the commissions of array repeated this. The formula was "ledit chl'r capp^{ne} aura et tendra continuellement en icelle place deux lances acheval sa personne comprinse que chl'r bacheller etc." or "non comprinse."⁴² Sir John Fastolf's difficulties provide a glimpse of the system at work in 1432, when

⁴¹ Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, pp. 244-245 and *passim*; fr. 4491, f. 62^{ro}.

⁴² For indentures with the captain "non comprinse" see for Rouen castle, Sept. 18, 1428 (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 106), and Carentan, Oct. 26, 1429 (Bib. Nat., fr. 26052, No. 1158): for ones including the captain see for Evreux, Nov. 25, 1429 (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 179). The practice went back to Henry V; indenture for Caen, Oct. 3, 1421 (Bib. Nat., P.O. 504, Breton, section 11420, No. 6). See also warrants, for Rouen castle, Jan. 12, 1429 n.s. (Bib. Nat., fr. 26051, No. 1020), for Evreux, Sept. 18, 1428 (*ibid.*, No. 948), and commission of array of Nov. 26, 1428 (Arch. de l'Eure, B 96).

Sir John was captain at Fresnay and also lieutenant at Caen, where Bedford was captain. Conditions on the southern frontier were such that in November 1431 the Council at Rouen ordered twelve of the fifteen mounted lances in garrison at Caen to be sent to Fresnay and Alençon in exchange for an equal number of unmounted men-at-arms from the latter places.⁴³ This "mutacion" left only three mounted men at Caen of whom, according to the indenture, Fastolf should be one, but he being captain at Fresnay sent a mounted lance to serve in his place at Caen. The treasury was willing enough to pay Fastolf at Fresnay, but objected to paying his substitute at Caen, and apparently held up the pay of the whole garrison until official provision and relief from the king was forthcoming, which took nearly a year.⁴⁴ But even the captain must pass muster at the garrison where he serves, and the record for Fresnay in 1435 carefully indicates that Fastolf is not included in the muster of 28 February and in the payment made 29 April, as his quittance records "pour ce que ne fusmes point passez en la monstre."⁴⁵ Presumably the emphasis in the record that Sir John was supposed to be paid for his person at Fresnay was a precaution against his claiming payment on some other account. The lieutenant also must be checked up in his authority when it touched

⁴³ Nov. 19, 1431. Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 13^m.

⁴⁴ Warrant, Feb. 28, 1433 n.s., to pay for the period Dec. 29, 1431-March 29, 1432, n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 26056, No. 2020. For the last quarter of 1431 there is a quittance (Jan. 14, 1433 n.s.) showing Fastolf being paid with the Caen garrison. *Ibid.*, P.O. 1101, Fastolf, section 25366, No. 9. Quittance of May 20, 1433 shows payment for Caen garrison including Fastolf's substitute. *Ibid.*, Clairambault 158, p. 4331, No. 24.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 161, p. 4581, No. 9.

matters of personnel. He was the captain's officer not the king's, and held his appointment from the captain. This was well enough, and any lieutenant duly appointed was recognized by the treasury. But the lieutenant himself could not appoint a substitute to act in his place. When, therefore, in the summer of 1429, Thomas Picot, serving at St. Lô as lieutenant for the Earl of Suffolk, appointed a man-at-arms to take his place at the head of the garrison the treasury refused payment "*pource que par ledit lieutenant dudit lieu il estoit en son lieu commis lieutenant de ladicte place que ne doit estre fait par Raison.*"⁴⁶

It is at this time that the record makes mention of an official whose title suggests that he may have been the person responsible for the details of business relative to mustering. This is Thomas West, who is variously referred to as "*notre clerc du guerres*" in a Regent's commission, or "*clericus guerraee*," or "*clerc du guerres du Roy*," or "*clerc des monstres de monditseigneur (le Regent)*," or "*clericus monstrorum nostrum.*"⁴⁷ All these references are in documents covering a period of only about nine months. No payments were made to him from the Norman treasury, which makes it probable that he was an officer of Bedford's household. This probability is increased by the fact that in 1436 he is

⁴⁶ Surreau's seventh account; Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, p. 256. On the muster roll for St. Lô of June 16, 1429 this man is marked "*commis a la garde de la dite ville.*" Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 72. The lieutenant himself had been present at the previous quarterly muster, March 22, 1429 n.s. Arch. de la Manche, A. supplement 3882, no number.

⁴⁷ The earliest reference is of Sept. 17, 1423, the latest June 26, 1424. Bib. Nat., fr. 26046, Nos. 109, 126; fr. 26047, No. 281; fr. 4485, pp. 200, 257; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 93.

"tresorier de lostel de treshaulte et puissant princesse madame la duchesse de Bedford."⁴⁸ Nothing in the record indicates that he had any authority relative to mustering. In taking musters he functions like any other commissioner, sometime under commission from the Regent, sometimes from the seneschal, sometimes from the latter's lieutenant.⁴⁹ It is not clear whether all this is providing a glimpse of a regular part of the Regent's household organization at a point where it touched the public administration, or whether it indicates a brief experiment with a sort of military secretariat.

It is not difficult to imagine that the seneschal's office did not function very thoroughly in the matter of musters. In the early summer of 1423 the practice of demanding an oath from the captain relative to the personnel of his retinue, declaring the men to belong to his company and not to any other, was instituted as part of the business of muster, a change which implies the discovery of abuses in themselves difficult to detect and reform.⁵⁰ On August 24, 1423 Bedford wrote to Simon Fleet, bailli of the Cotentin,

Nous vous mandons et expressement enioingnons que vous voiez, prenez et Recevez les monstres des garnisons tant gens darmes que archiers de la Retenue de notre treschier et

⁴⁸ Bib. Nat., fr. 26060, No. 2778.

⁴⁹ From the Regent; *ibid.*, fr. 26046, Nos. 109, 126: from the seneschal; *ibid.*, fr. 26047, No. 284: from the seneschal's lieutenant; *ibid.*, fr. 4485, p. 190.

⁵⁰ This problem had been recognized in 1421. See above note 20. The earliest example of a commission of array with this oath clause is one from the seneschal dated June 8, 1423 relative to the retinue of Sir Robert Harling, captain of Meulan and Poissy. *Ibid.*, fr. 26046, No. 78. A seneschal's commission in French of March 17, 1423 n.s. relative to Sir William Breton, bailli of Caen and captain of Bayeux, does not contain this oath clause, but

tresame cousin le Conte de Suffolk ou pais de Normandie, cestassavoir Coustances, Saint Lo et Avranches, non obstant que ja pieca nous eussions ordonne notre bien ame Richard Wydeville notre chambellan et seneschal de Normandie ou ses commis pour prendre et Recevoir toutes les monstres dudit pays lequel ne peult pour le present vacquer ne entendre a prendre icelles monstres pour ce quil est colidiennement avecques nous et en notre service. Et semblablement voulons que vous prenez, voiez et Recevez les monstres de garnisons de Chierebourg, Regnierville, Carenten et Pont douve. Et outre voulons et vous mandons expressement que en prenant par vous icelles monstres vous faictes jurer les cappitaines

this document is peculiar in several other respects. It is a letter patent and not a commission. Unlike the later commissions it refers to three different retinues, viz. the garrisons of Bayeux and Caen, and the retinue of the bailli of Caen. It seems to imply a more extensive inspection than a mere muster. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11494. The two commissions of array issued in October 1422 in the king's name have no oath clause. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 85, 86. Those issued by Bedford in September and November 1423 and in 1424 have the clause. Bib. Nat., fr. 26046, No. 108; Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 77; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7936, 7937, 3577. The seneschal's June commission was in Latin and is the form which became typical of the commissions in the Regent's or king's name in contrast with those issued later by the treasury officials. See below note 104. Another instance of the resort to oaths, other means of supervision being lacking, appears in a certificate of Dec. 24, 1425 relative to an inspection of Richard Veau and fifteen archers, which states that they all swore on the gospels that they had performed the service for which they were employed, namely the extirpation of brigands. Bib. Nat., fr. 26048, No. 527. Concrete example of the abuses, which this innovation in the commissions of array was intended to correct, appears in a royal letter of July 2, 1424 to the bailli of the Cotentin, stating that some of the men in the force recently come from England "ont laissie et laissent un chascun jour leur cappitaines soubz qui ilz estoient ordonnes et pour nous fraulder et decevoir et prendre doubles gaiges se vont offrir a plusieurs cappitaines de noz duchie et pais de Normandie." S. Luce, *Chronique de Mont Saint Michel*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1879), I, 137. On a muster roll of Oct. 14, 1430 for a contingent from Evreux at the siege of Louviers one archer is marked with a cross and not counted, because he had already been mustered in the contingent from Lord Scales's retinue. Bib. Nat., fr. 25769, No. 539.

desdiz lieux ou places ou leurs lieutenants que tous les gens darmes et archiers estans esdictes garnisons ainsi par vous prins et Receuz ont este et sont Residens et Retenuz avecques eulx sur la sauvegarde desdictes forteresses et lieux sans fraude ou malengin et quilz ne soient pas Retenus avecques aucuns aultres cappitaines.

The certified results were to be sent to the treasurer-general.⁵¹ This indicates that at a late date in the quarter the seneschal had made no provision for mustering the far western garrisons, and that the business had to be turned over to the local bailli. The fact that this commission came directly from the Regent with an explicit "non obstant" clause relative to the seneschal's powers implies that it had become necessary to intervene over the seneschal's head in order to get results. As it was the St. Lô garrison did not get mustered until after the end of the quarter.⁵²

For the first part of the fiscal year 1423-1424 the seneschal himself was in England,⁵³ and during that

⁵¹ Bib. Nat., fr. 26046, No. 101. Fleet's career had been civilian. He had been treasurer at Harfleur as early as January 1416, and in March he became controller there. In November 1420 he became victualler of the castles south of the Seine. P.R.O., For. Accts. 61, C^{vo}; Ex. Accts. 188/7, m. 24^{ro}; Calendar of French Rolls, Henry V in *Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, vol. XLIV (London, 1883), pp. 576, 578; Calendar of Norman Rolls, *ibid.*, vol. XLII, p. 381; Rôles de Brèquigny 640. His Harfleur account book is in P.R.O., Ex. Accts. 49/7; For. Accts. 69. Régnéville muster roll, Sept. 19, 1422, mentions him as bailli of the Contentin. Bib. Nat., fr. 25775, No. 1363.

⁵² See above note 37.

⁵³ Sept. 28, 1423, Woodville mustered the garrison at Montivillers. Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 17¹². April 7, 1424 n.s., warrant was issued for paying him as councillor from Sept. 29, 1423 to March 29, 1424, notwithstanding that he had been in England. (See above note 33.) The letter of expedition for paying his seneschal's retinue from Dec. 29, 1423 to Easter is of the same

period and the rest of the year also his functions were performed by his lieutenant-general, John Brinkley, an experienced treasury official.⁵⁴ But the diversity of authorities issuing commissions of array continued. Brinkley himself, despite his lieutenant-generalship, had to have a royal commission to muster all and singular of the baillis, captains and soldiers of the Norman garrisons and retinues.⁵⁵ And there were officials, such as Walter Charlton, who mustered the Mante garrison "be vertu of the Kynggys commission derekt unto hym for to take al the mustrys of the garnisons on the revere of Seyne by twyxt Rone and Parys."⁵⁶ Indeed, at the end of April 1424, more explicit and extensive directions than ever before were issued to special general commissioners, at least for the bailliages of Alençon and Caux. In each case three commissioners were named,

date. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11498. He was absent from all musters of his retinue during the year. Presumably he was in Normandy April 14, 1424, when quittances were given for sums due him. June 4, 1424, he mustered the Mante garrison. Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, pp. 161-162, 200-201, 230-231.

⁵⁴ In 1419 he was a treasury clerk under Alington. P.R.O., Ex. Accts. 187/14, mm. 2^{vo}, 5^{vo}, 8^{vo}, 10^{vo}, 19^{vo}; Bib. Nat., P.O. 38, Alington, No. 5; above note 11. In 1420 he was "garde du scel des obligations de la vicomte de Rouen." *Ibid.*, fr. 26043, No. 5483. In 1421 he was Alington's lieutenant-general. *Ibid.*, P.O. 519, Brinkley, section 11677, No. 2. As "garde de scel des obligations de la vicomte de Caen" he made vidimus of Woodville's appointment as seneschal. *Ibid.*, fr. 26046, No. 47. Sept. 19, 1423, with the president of the Chamber of Accounts, he mustered the garrison at Caen, where Woodville was captain. Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 74. By April 27, 1424 he is "maistre des comptes du Roy a Caen." Bib. Nat., P.O. 466, Bourg, No. 2; fr. 4485, p. 311.

⁵⁵ Brinkley is mentioned as lieutenant-general relative to a Falaise muster of Dec. 16, 1423. He had been taking musters since October. Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, pp. 176, 188, 197, 204, 217, 241: his general commission is dated Dec. 30, 1423. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11517.

⁵⁶ Jan. 22, 1424 n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 25767, No. 56; fr. 4485, p. 230.

any two of whom could function effectively. They were directed to take monthly musters, and not only were they to take the oaths previously required of the captains, but they were themselves to make oath, in the hands of the seneschal and the treasurer-general, concerning the musters, about which they were to make declaration and certification in writing over their own signatures and under their own seals. If any of the men in garrison were absent in the field or otherwise, on the king's business, on muster day the captain was to give their names under oath. "Et en oultre, pour ce que plusieurs hommes darmes ont acoustume deux foiblement et moins souffissanment que de Raison, armer en salades sans harnoys de jambes et aultrement, nous vouldons que sur chascun homme darmes acheval qui naura bacinet pour chacun moys quil y deffauldra soit Rabatu ung franc et sur celui qui deffauldra avoir harnoys de jambes deux frans delaquelle chose vous serez tenu en chascune monstre faire desclaracion et avec ce en prenant lesdiz monstres feres monter les arcs et tirer tous ceulx qui seront passes pour archiers affin de veoir la souffissans."⁵⁷ Since the receiver-general's account for this year ignores any returns from these commissioners the purpose of these monthly musters was probably not financial but military, namely to keep the

⁵⁷ April 30, 1424. For Alençon Sir John Montgomery, captain of Domfront, Sir William Breton, bailli of Caen, and Thomas Ford, lieutenant of Falaise, were appointed. Bib. Nat., P.O. 2021, Montgomery, section 46306, No. 3. For Caux the commissioners were Thomas Masterson, bailli of Caux, Hugh Spencer, lieutenant of Lillebonne, and Sir Morelet de Bethencourt. There are four official copies of this latter document. *Ibid.*, fr. nouv. acq. 1482, Nos. 39, 41; Arch. de la Seine Inf., occupation anglaise, Guerre, and Travaux (lieutenants-general).

Regent informed of the forces available,⁵⁸ and to keep the garrisons in a condition of maximum efficiency.

Owing to the preservation of the receiver-general's account book for 1423-24 it is possible to survey the working of the mustering system for a year as it applied to the Norman garrisons. The book refers to one hundred and seventy garrison musters during the year, but in so doing neglects to indicate for seventy-five of them under whose commission they were taken. Of the remaining ninety-five those which were made by the seneschal, his lieutenant-general or their commissioners number forty-four; the rest were made either under commission from the Regent, or by general commissioners, by the treasurer, or by Thomas West. Three fourths of those in the seneschal group were made by Brinkley in person, and it is easy to make an itinerary for him throughout the year and covering the entire duchy.⁵⁹ Nothing in this record indicates the taking of monthly musters under the orders to the commissioners general referred to above. The concurrence of jurisdiction as to the issuing of commissions continues without any reason for it being

⁵⁸ See below notes 264-271, 295-298, 328-329.

⁵⁹ Bib. Nat., fr. 4485 *passim*. Brinkley's itinerary: Oct. 3, 1423, Neufchâtel; Nov. 5, Caudebec; Nov. 6, Honfleur; Nov. 14, Bayeux; Nov. 24, Carentan; Dec. 16, Falaise; Dec. 19, Domfront; Jan. 2, 1424, Avranches; Feb. 1, Pont d'Ouve; Feb. 5, Cherbourg; Feb. 9, Régnéville and Coutances; March 11, Bayeux; March 16, Falaise; March 18, Argentan; March 21, Torcy; March 22, Neufchâtel; May 12, Falaise; May 17, Carentan (bailli's retinue); May 22, Vire; June 14, Carentan (garrison); June 15, Avranches (This date number is probably a clerical error. Perhaps it should be 25. This surmise is based upon the distances involved.); June 20, Bayeux; July 4, Exmes; Sept. 11, Falaise; Sept. 12, Avranches; Sept. 16, Bayeux; Sept. 17, Pont d'Ouve; Sept. 19, Cherbourg; Sept. 20, St. Lô; Sept. 21, Coutances and Régnéville; Sept. 25, Domfront.

apparent. The same men, for instance, will make successive musters of a garrison or of neighboring garrisons, at one time under commission from the Regent, at another under commission from the seneschal.⁶⁰

It may be that the details relative to equipment, appearing in the general commission of April 30, 1424, indicate a new and more rigorous supervision of accoutrements. If so it probably resulted from the survey made under that commission, because evidence of its application does not appear until the documents of the next fiscal year (Sept. 29, 1424–Sept. 28, 1425). The earliest indication that the treasury had raised the question of forcing the captains to conform to the recognized standards of equipment is an entry in the receiver-general's account for 1423–24 relative to a new retinue at St. Lô, which made first muster Jan. 2, 1424 n.s. Surreau records: "Reserve le bon plaisir de mons' le Regent en xii l. t. pour iiii hommes darmes qui furent aux premieres monstres sans bacines et xviii l. t. pour iii autres hommes darmes qui furent a icelles monstres sans harnois de jambes."⁶¹ If previously men had been passed at muster with inadequate equipment, the king was being cheated of his bargain with the captain, or if such men had been marked with a cross by the commis-

⁶⁰ Note Harfleur, Dec. 23, 1423 and March 19, 1424 n.s. *Ibid.*, pp. 213–215. June 26, 1424, commission from the Regent to Thomas West for the garrison of Louviers. Bib. Nat., fr. 26047, No. 281. June 29, 1424, commission from the seneschal to West for the garrisons of St. Germain and Montjoye. *Ibid.*, No. 284.

⁶¹ Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, pp. 190–192. This was a fine of six day's pay for each of the former and twelve day's pay for each of the latter. It may be significant that this was a new retinue under a new indenture, which is indicated by the first muster. New arrangements could have been included in the new contract.

sioners, and not counted at all, no wages would be paid for them by the treasury, and the captain or his soldiers would be out of pocket. This arrangement of a fine would be a reasonable compromise between these two possible practices. A muster roll dated Feb. 11, 1425 n.s. shows this policy being applied. Opposite the name of each man-at-arms is written "salade" or "basinet." Four out of twenty had salads, and the captain's quit-tance for pay based on this muster records that 12 l. t. "ont ete rabattues a cause de quatre hommes defaillans de bacinets."⁶² When this retinue mustered on October 1, 1425 the commissioners, possibly in consequence of this February episode, perhaps at the captain's request, added a note to the effect that the men-at-arms were "toutz a chivall, montez, armez et arraiez chascun selonc son estat et se onnt les ditz gentz darmes basynetz ou salades au viser pour leur testez avec leur harnois de jambes bien et souffisanment abilliez pour la guerre."⁶³ On another occasion a roll records a foot lance "sanz

⁶² Muster by the seneschal of the retinue of Sir John Harpeley, bailli of Alençon. Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 11¹⁹. May 8, 1425, Harpeley's quit-tance. *Ibid.*, No. 18. A muster by the same of the garrison of Exmes, March 4, 1425, shows one man-at-arms marked "sans bacinet" and another "sans harnois de jambes." *Ibid.*, No. 11²². In Surreau's journal (1424-25) there is record of a rebate of 9 l.t. against the captain of Exmes on this account. Bib. Nat., fr. 4491, f. 83^{ro}.

⁶³ Muster of Harpeley's retinue, Oct. 1, 1425. (By a clerical error the date on this document is written 1415, an obvious impossibility.) Arch. Nat., K 59, No. 10. It would appear that protection for the face was what counted, so that a salad with a visor was considered adequate. The fact that the commissioner reported the details shows that final decision lay with the treasury. A Rouen muster of Feb. 13, 1426 n.s. shows two lances marked "salad au viser." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1424. Another Rouen muster, Nov. 16, 1429, shows six lances marked "sans visirre." *Ibid.*, 6835. By special order of the treasurer these were docked only one l.t. each. Bib. Nat., fr. 26052, No. 1267.

harnois de jambes et sanz salade," to which has been added in a different hand "il a depuis monstre son harnois de jambes et salade et pour ce soit compte tout arme."⁶⁴ From this it may be presumed that bacinets were required only of mounted men-at-arms, salads being adequate for hobelars. A full description of what was expected of a mounted lance appears on a muster roll at Bayeux, where the lieutenant is marked "fourny de deux chevaux et dun varlet apres luy, arme de curaiches, de hernois de jambes, gantelles et bachinet."⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Muster of part of the retinue for defending Rouen gates and walls. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 166, p. 5043, No. 30.

⁶⁵ Sept. 26, 1430. *Ibid.*, fr. 25769, No. 527. The requirement of two horses and a varlet or page is confirmed by a muster roll for Pontoise, March 15, 1432 n.s., where two mounted lances are each marked "i cheval." *Ibid.*, fr. 25770, No. 684. A quittance of May 10, 1433 records a rebate of 14 l. 15 s. 10 d.t. because two men of Arundel's retinue had only one horse apiece on muster day. Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 24⁷. In reviewing an escort of sixty-five lances the commissioners marked thirteen of them "sans page," April 24, 1433 n.s. *Ibid.*, No. 19¹⁸. A quittance for Mante, June 6, 1430, mentions five men-at-arms "chacun a ung cheval equipolez a demie paye," and the figures seem to indicate payment to these of half the usual pay, viz. 9d. sterling per day. (A foot lance was normally paid 8d.) Bib. Nat., Clairambault 141, p. 2751, No. 3. Yet a large proportion of the archers were also mounted, presumably with only one horse, but with no difference in pay, viz. 6d. sterling per day. An indenture of January 1440 between Sir James Ormond and James Skidmore stipulates that the latter serve "as a man of armes with vi archers in his company, all on horsbak, and wele chosen men, and likly persones wele and suffisantly armed, horsed, and arayed, ev'y man aft' his degree; that is to say, that the seid James Skidmore have herneis complete, w^t basnet or salade with viser, spere, axe, sword and dagg^r; and all the seid archers specially to have good Jakks of defence, salades, swerdes, and sheves of xl arwes atte lest." *Archaeologia*, vol. XVII (London, 1814), 214. Jan. 10, 1426 n.s. muster roll of the retinue of the bailli of Mante shows eleven archers out of twenty marked "sans cheval." Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 18²². Probably this was because a bailli's retinue was necessarily supposed to be all mounted, but see also below note 70. In the army of 1417 the Earl of Suffolk's retinue was provided with twenty-four horses for each of

A similar passage about archers appears on a roll of Nov. 6, 1431 at Pont d'Ouve, the commissioner certifying that all the archers are armed "de especz, blouquierz, pallottes, cappellines, ars et trouses de flesches et montez suffisainment."⁶⁶ A similar roll for St. Lô, March 22, 1429, certifies that the men-at-arms were duly armed "de tout harnois" and mounted, and that "lesdiz archiers de arcq, trousse, palletocq, espee et dagues, et monetes suffisanment sy non ii qui sont marquees alendroit diceulx," which two are labelled "sans cheval" and "a pie sans cheval."⁶⁷ That the orders of April 1424 to test the archers continued is indicated by a roll on which the commissioners certified that "nous . . . avons fait tirer iceulx archiers tous lun apres lautre es butes de baelle dudit chastel."⁶⁸ Eventually

his five knights, six horses for each of the twenty-four other lances, and four horses for each archer. P.R.O., Ex. Accts. 49/12. This meant a cavalcade of six hundred and twenty-four horses for a retinue of one hundred and nineteen soldiers, an arrangement presumably made to provide prompt replacements during a campaign in the field. The ordinary campaign provision was four horses for each man-at-arms not a knight and one for each archer. Rymer, IV, part 2, pp. 114-116.

⁶⁶ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11746. Godefroy's dictionary identifies "blouquierz" vaguely as a sort of weapon, but my colleague Professor Charles Grimm recognized this as an example of metathesis, a corruption of *bouclier*, a small, round shield; this is confirmed by the examples given under this latter word in Godefroy's *complément*. "Pallottes" would seem to be garments of some sort, perhaps cloaks.

⁶⁷ Arch. de la Manche, A. supplement 3882. This roll has thirty archers of whom two were not pointed and so were not counted, two belonged to the controller and so were not paid by the captain, and two were horseless. Surreau's account shows payment for twenty-five: does this mean a penalty of half pay for the last two? Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, p. 255.

⁶⁸ Sept. 26, 1430. *Ibid.*, fr. 25769, No. 527. This is the roll referred to above, note 65, from which the details about equipment for a man-at-arms

a clause was written into the indentures to the effect that "ne seront Receuz ausdiz monstres et Reveues quelxconques souldoiers se ilz ne sont montez et habillez souffissant et armez de bassinet ou sallade avisiere, Et aient harnoiz de jambes et autre tel quil appartendra a homme darmes, Et que chacun lance ou homme darmes soit fourni de trois archiers." ⁶⁹ That the treasury could be reasonable, however, in applying the rules appears from a letter of Feb. 14, 1437 n.s. from Stanlaw, the treasurer-general, to Baille, the receiver-general, with respect to the archers of certain retinues at Vernon and Vernonelle, whose captains "ait este mande tenir leurdiz gens continuelement et entendre a la sauvegarde desdiz lieux — neantmoins pour ce que tous lesdiz archiers — nont tenu aucuns chevaulx par ce que les vivres y estoient chiers et aussi que mande leur fut eulx y tenir continuelement et se sont tous monstrez a pie vous avez fait et faictes difficulte de paier leurs gaiges. — Considerees les choses dessusdiz" the treasurer ordered Baille to make payment. ⁷⁰

In the fall of 1424 a new seneschal, in succession to Woodville, was appointed in the person of Sir William Oldhall, a young man from Exeter's following, who had won his knighthood the year before, possibly at Cravant,

were quoted. It seems more reasonable to suppose that this record indicates a conscientious commissioner rather than an unusual muster.

⁶⁹ See Oct. 29, 1435, Lord Scales's indenture for St. Lô. Bib. Nat., fr. 26060, No. 2660. The quotation in the text is from Sir Thomas Kingston's indenture for St. Lô, March 19, 1438 n.s. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11986.

⁷⁰ Bib. Nat., fr. 26062, No. 3100. This is interesting also because it is not like other warrants "non obstant," an order from the Regent or the Council, but is within the treasury itself.

and who had led Exeter's men at Vernueil in that commander's absence.⁷¹ Woodville returned to Eng-

⁷¹ Warrant for paying his seneschal's retinue is dated Sept. 26, 1424. The retainer was for a year, from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, like the captain of a garrison. Bib. Nat., fr. 26047, No. 317. Under this warrant Sir William was paid the wages for his soldiers (quittance of Feb. 11, 1425 n.s. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11532); but quittance of Aug. 6, 1425 shows that he was paid his own wages as seneschal under a warrant of Nov. 12, 1424, which is the day following his retinue's first muster. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 187, p. 6977, No. 3. It is my opinion that he did not actually qualify as seneschal by taking the necessary oaths until Nov. 23, 1424, the date from which he draws pay as seneschal according to Surreau's journal. *Ibid.*, fr. 4491, f. 7^{vo}. A commission of array for the retinue of the bailli of Caen from the Regent to Oldhall and Brinkley, dated Sept. 27, 1424, makes no reference to the office of seneschal. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 318. According to Surreau's journal (*ut supra* f. 54^{ro}) Brinkley took this muster alone 20 November. On Nov. 11, 1424 Oldhall with his seneschal's retinue made first muster at Essay. Bib. Nat., fr. 26575, No. 110. But his quittance of Feb. 11, 1425 n.s. shows that he was not credited with his own presence but was paid for only nineteen men-at-arms out of twenty. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11532. From this, in conjunction with his pay record, I infer that he had not yet been inaugurated as seneschal. A warrant of Nov. 13, 1424 concerning participation of his retinue in the Maine expedition does not refer to him as seneschal. Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 11¹³. Under this he was paid for the field service of the retinue from Dec. 24, 1424 until Feb. 11, 1425 (*ibid.*, No. 11²⁰), but Surreau records that Oldhall himself mustered the garrison at Falaise on Dec. 26, 1424, that at Ardevon on Jan. 8, 1425 n.s., and that at Bayeux on 20 January. Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, p. 317; fr. 4491, ff. 46^{ro}, 54^{ro}. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* he served in Exeter's retinue at the siege of Rouen. In the *Itinerarium Willelmi de Worcestre* (James Nasmith ed., Cambridge, 1778) are two items (pp. 282, 373-374) regarding Oldhall's knighting. They contradict each other. One of them refers to his being knighted at Vernueil and is the basis for the statement to that effect in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The other seems to refer to the demonstration made by the Duke of Clarence before Paris in August 1419. Newhall, p. 140. It is suggested that the Sir Guillaume Hodehal mentioned in C. Vautier, *Extrait du registre des dons* (Paris, 1828), p. 131, as recipient, in November 1419, of the seigneurie of Charruel is not the future seneschal, as Luce assumes (*op. cit.*, I, 155), but may be the man knighted by Clarence in August 1419. A royal protection for William Oldhall in July 1423 mentions that he belongs to Exeter's retinue.

land,⁷² and Brinkley was taken care of by appointment to the council and to a mastership in Bedford's Chamber of Accounts for Alençon and Maine newly organized at Mante.⁷³ At about the same time Woodville, who was captain of the garrison at Caen, made Brinkley his lieutenant there, which in Woodville's continued absence meant the actual command of that important place.⁷⁴

He is not spoken of as a knight. Calendar of French Rolls, Henry VI in *Report of the Deputy Keeper*, vol. XLVIII (London, 1887), p. 226. Exeter was too sick to cross to France in the spring of 1423. *Proceedings*, III, 87. In the list of captains crossing with the Earl Marshal in May-June 1423 Oldhall is not marked as a knight. P.R.O., Ex. Accts. 51/8. Nor is he a knight in the list of captains present at Cravant. J. Stevenson, *Letters and Papers illustrative of the English Wars in France*, 2 vols. in 3 (London, 1861-64), II, 385. Protections of April and May 1424 mention him as a knight. Calendar, *ut supra*, p. 230. Sir William Oldhall with forty-four lances and one hundred and thirty-five archers mustered at Dover May 29, 1424, and was paid £616. 8s. 5½d. P.R.O., Issue Roll, No. 666, m. 4. He would be about thirty-four. For his Vernueil command see "A Brief Latin Chronicle" in *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles* (J. Gairdner ed., Camden Society, 1880), p. 161, and C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), Appendix V, p. 321.

⁷² Surreau's second account records payment to Woodville on Dec. 15, 1424 of expenses of one noble a day for sixty-six days (Sept. 29-Dec. 3, 1424). Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, p. 279. Surreau's journal has space for recording payment of his salary as councillor, which was contingent upon his remaining in France, but nothing is recorded. The journal is not a complete record for the year 1424-25. *Ibid.*, fr. 4491, f. 7^{vo}. On Feb. 26, 1425 n.s. the Council in London put Woodville in charge of the Tower. *Proceedings*, III, 167. May 16, 1425 he was commissioned to array at Dover the forces about to cross over to France. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry VI, 1422-29*, p. 300.

⁷³ Bib. Nat., fr. 4491, f. 9^{ro}. This shows that his pay started on Jan. 19, 1425 n.s. The Norman Chamber of Accounts at Caen had been suppressed in July 1424 and this new chamber at Mante was set up in January 1425 n.s. P.R.O., Transcripts 8, vol. 136, section 1; Bib. Nat., fr. 26047, No. 373.

⁷⁴ Jan. 2, 1425 n.s. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1085. He served as lieutenant until September 1430. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 219, No. 31. All the surviving musters for this period show Woodville absent and all the quittances

If, as may be surmised, the Woodville-Brinkley administration was an attempt in fact to coördinate the treasury and seneschal administration of mustering by having a former treasury official the active agent under the seneschal, that effort was now abandoned. Oldhall himself undertook to perform the mustering functions of his office, and some twenty-two per cent of the musters recorded in Surreau's journal for the fiscal year 1424-25 were made by him in person, and about twenty-four per cent were made by his commissioners.⁷⁵ As far as can be

are given by Brinkley. When Cardinal Beaufort succeeded Woodville as captain of Caen in the fall of 1429 Brinkley continued in command as the cardinal's lieutenant. Bib. de Caen, MSS. Mancel XVI, 39; Bib. Nat., Clairambault 143, p. 2995, No. 65.

⁷⁵ Bib. Nat., fr. 4491 *passim*. There are one hundred and twenty-seven musters of garrisons, of which twenty-eight were by Oldhall and thirty by his commissioners. Most of the others do not indicate under whose commission they were made. Oldhall's itinerary can be followed from the above, supplemented from other documents, although there are some physical impossibilities about it presumably to be explained as due to clerical errors. Oct. 1, 1424, Pont del Arche; (Oct. 26, Alençon, Bib. Nat., Clairambault 161, p. 4577); (Nov. 1, Meulan, Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 11¹⁸); Nov. 3, Evreux; (Nov. 11, Oldhall and his seneschal's retinue made first muster at Essay. Bib. Nat., fr. 26757, No. 110; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11532); Dec. 10, Fresnay; Dec. 16, Argentan; Dec. 22, Domfront; Dec. 26, Falaise; (Jan. 8, 1425, Ardevon, Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, p. 317); date uncertain, Caen; Jan. 20, Bayeux; Feb. 12 (sic), Régnéville; (Feb. 12, Alençon. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 161, p. 4577; Feb. 13, Fresnay. *Ibid.*, p. 4573, No. 3); Mar. 2 (?), Avranches; Mar. 4, Argentan; (Mar. 4, Exmes. Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 11²²); Mar. 15, Pontoise; Mar. 18, Mante; Mar. 18, Evreux; April 18, Pont del Arche; May 2 (sic), Falaise; (For May 1, 1425 there is a muster at "Chartre-sur-le-Laire" of Sir William Bucton's retinue for the conquest of Maine before Sir William Oldhall "magno senescalio Normannie virtute officii sui." It is addressed on the back "venerabili et discreto viro hamon Belknap Thesaurario Normanne generali." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11536.); June 3, bailli of Caux (?Neufchâtel); June 4, Pontoise; June 5, Neufchâtel (garri-son); June 23, Argentan; July 17, Alençon; Sept. 2, Falaise; Sept. 16,

observed the Regent was the only other source of mustering authority. There is no indication of treasury participation.⁷⁶ It is noteworthy, however, that, beginning with January 1425, the quittances from the captains to the receiver-general include a record of the mustering during the period for which payment is made.⁷⁷ It should be observed that Abbot Robert Jolivet signs himself "commissaire du Roy notres' envoye ou paiz de la Basse marche de Normendie pour le Recouvrement de la place du Mont Saint Michiel et

Evreux. Sir William's lieutenant was John Fairfield, an Englishman holding fiefs near Bayeux (Rôles de Brèquigny 417), but his mustering activities were confined to the Cotentin.

⁷⁶ Commissions of array from the Regent: Oct. 22, 1424, for Arques (Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 42); Sept. 25, 1425, for St. Lô, Tombelaine and Ardevon (*ibid.*, fr. 26289, No. 339); Oct. 24, 1425, for the retinue of the bailli of Caux (Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 18¹³); Nov. 16, 1425, for Gaillard (*ibid.*, No. 18¹⁷). Commissions from the seneschal: Jan. 29, 1425, for Meulan (Bib. Nat., fr. 26047, No. 377); June 1, for the same (*ibid.*, fr. 26048, No. 431); July 24, for Exmes (Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 18⁸); Oct. 20, for Bayeux and the bailli of Caen (Bib. Nat., Clairambault 187, p. 6977, No. 2); Nov. 16, for Caen (*ibid.*, P.O. 2138, Oldhall, section 48630, No. 2). All these commissions are in Latin. They direct report to be made to the treasurer-general and the receiver-general. Is there any significance in the fact that the seneschal himself and his retinue were mustered under the authority of the grand master of the Regent's household? Bib. Nat., fr. 4491, f. 82^{ro}; fr. 25768, No. 220; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11532.

⁷⁷ There are ten quittances for the years 1423-24, only one of which (Pontoise, Aug. 2, 1423. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 169, p. 5357, No. 79) has any record of mustering. Beginning with 1425 there are the following quittances all with such record: Jan. 16, 1425, Cherbourg (*ibid.*, fr. 26047, No. 372), Neufchâtel (*ibid.*, Clairambault 142, p. 2903, No. 72); Feb. 2, 1425, Meulan (Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 11¹⁸); March 9, 1425, Honfleur (Bib. Nat., fr. 26047, No. 393). There are two from Touque for 1425 (*ibid.*, fr. 26048, No. 413; fr. 26276, No. 10) without record of muster, but this is explained below at note 89. There are no other quittances for 1425, and those for the following years have the record of muster as part of the regular format.

pour Recevoir les monstres de toutes les garnisons des dictes basses marches" and issues commissions of array.⁷⁸ This seems, however, to be an exceptional procedure connected with the operations against the Mount and not intended as a development in the regular military administration.

At the same time that the new seneschal was being appointed, changes in the supervision of garrisons were instituted intended to make it simpler and more efficient. The Regent issued orders of some sort directing how musters were to be taken.⁷⁹ Certain places, instead of having garrisons of a definite number, were now put at a flat rate, the captain guaranteeing their safety. Such garrisons would no longer need to be mustered or reviewed.⁸⁰ In such cases there was also a considerable saving to the treasury because the flat rate was much lower than the wages previously paid.⁸¹ This was an

⁷⁸ June 29, 1425, relative to "les monstres de hault et puissant seigneur Mons^r le conte de Suffolk cappitaine et gouverneur desdictes basses marches pour la charge de Cent lances et les archiers pour lagarde de la bastille d'Ardevon et de Tombelaine." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 3587. In September the Regent issued commission for these places. See above note 76.

⁷⁹ See below note 104 the passage quoted from a commission of Aug. 20, 1426.

⁸⁰ As a warrant of Sept. 27, 1425 for Cherbourg and Régnéville reads, payment was to be made "non obstant quil napaire aucunement du nombre des gens darmes et archiers quil tendra en icelles places et quil nen face ne sois tenu faire aucuns monstres ou Reveues." Bib. Nat., P.O. 1530, Hongreford, section 34945, No. 2.

⁸¹ This was the practice prevailing for the castles on the Scotch border. Experiment of this sort started in 1423-24 when the captain of Conches agreed to guard the place for 1000 l.t. plus the income from the *guet*. Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, pp. 209-210. In 1424-25 these details were omitted and Lord Scales took over Conches for what he could make. *Ibid.*, fr. 4491, f. 59^{ro}. The other places were Caudebec, Gournay and Dieppe, each at 500 l.t. a

indication that the country was becoming pacified and that the conquerors felt their position to be more secure. A more interesting novelty was the creation of the office of controller for single garrisons. First evidence of this innovation is to be found in the indenture of Sir John Hanford as captain of St. Germain, Sept. 26, 1424, in which appears the clause, "Et aussi sera esleu ung homme darmez ou autre gentil homme sage et de bon gouvernement qui sera contreroleur des tierces et gaignes de guerre et de faultez du nombre et absence diceulx hommes darmez et archiers dicelle garnison, Et aussi des habillemens, arrayemens et suffisance diceulx capp^{ne} et compaignie quant icellui capp^{ne} fera ses monstres et de tous autrez drois qui pourra toucher et appartenir audit monseigneur le Regent, Et de tout ce certifiera icelle monseigneur le Regent ou ses commis dedens le second mois dun chacung quartier." ⁸² The next year an additional clause was inserted after "bon gouvernement" to the effect that he was to have with him "trois archiers du nombre et retenue dudit capitaine lequel prendra gaiges comme les autres et si demoura soubz mondit seigneur le Regent pour le servir quant et ou il plaira audit mons^r le Regent

year, and Montivillers at 300 l.t. *Ibid.*, ff. 61, 76, 78. This was a saving of more than 8500 l.t. over the previous year. *Ibid.*, fr. 4485, pp. 215-218, 239-241, 244-246.

⁸² Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11531. This is the only surviving indenture made at the beginning of the fiscal year 1424-25. Probably no controller was actually appointed, since Surreau's journal mentions no such individual, has no record of rebates for absences and gains, and shows no variation in the wages paid for each quarter. Bib. Nat., fr. 4491, f. 71. For the next fiscal year no record of any sort for this garrison has survived, and in 1426-27 St. Germain was on a flat rate. *Ibid.*, fr. 26049, No. 677.

franc et quitte de tous guetz et gardes de ladic place."⁸³ In January 1425 n.s. the new arrangement was put into effect at Mante, Rouen and Pontoise, and possibly at Gisors, under orders from the Regent that the controller and his three archers were to be paid directly by the receiver-general and not by the captain even though they counted as part of the captain's retinue.⁸⁴ In this way there would be no danger that the captain could influence the controller's reports by withholding his pay, nor would the captain have any hold over the archers who presumably helped the controller to keep informed.

The treasury continued as before to hold up the captains to the terms of their indentures and to make rebates on the wages for insufficient equipment.⁸⁵ Complaint came from the bailli of Rouen that he had maintained since March 30, 1424 a retinue of eleven men-at-

⁸³ Sept. 25, 1425, indenture for Coutances. *Ibid.*, fr. 26048, No. 464. This arrangement had been in effect from the start. See next note.

⁸⁴ When recording in his journal payments to Sir William Bucton, captain of Mante, Surreau made marginal note "de ceste somme dont il abaillie quittance est demoure en la main dudit Receveur iiiii^{xx} x l. xii s. x d.t. pour les gaiges et Regars de i homme darmes et iii archiers acheval qui est contreroleur par lordonnance de mons^r le Regent lui seront paieez apart par ledit Receveur." *Ibid.*, fr. 4491, f. 69. Under this entry William Herman, the controller, drew pay from Jan. 6, 1425 n.s. When a captain was paid with a discharge of assignment upon a local official there might be added a clause directing the latter to pay part of the designated sum separately to the controller. Sept. 3, 1429. Arch. de la Seine Inf., occupation anglaise, Travaux, 1428, No. 32. Jan. 26, 1425 n.s. the Regent issued warrant for paying Richard Clerc as controller for Rouen garrison for service from 31 January. Bib. Nat., fr. 4491, f. 62. For the last quarter of 1424-25 there is mention of a *contrerolle* at Pontoise and a rebate for absences. *Ibid.*, f. 73. For Gisors there is a marginal note like that for Mante but no controller is named. *Ibid.*, f. 65.

⁸⁵ Out of one hundred and twenty-seven musters Surreau's journal shows four in which incomplete equipment was reported. This saved the treasury 42 l.t. Bib. Nat., fr. 4491, ff. 46^{vo}, 48, 83, 84.

arms and thirty-three archers all mounted, which had served for two months of the quarter at Gaillon siege, where they mustered each month. The treasury argued that these musters counted only for his service at the siege, each one for a month, as was customary for armies in the field. They could not, therefore, serve for the quarter as a whole, so the treasury refused to pay for the residue of the quarter during which period there had been no muster. On the bailli's complaint the Regent intervened.⁸⁶ The captain of Argentan found himself in difficulties because he had been on a schedule under which his third quarter ended on Aug. 28, 1424. New indenture was made in September for the year beginning Michaelmas (29 September), and the size of his retinue was greatly reduced. Warrant was issued to pay him for a year beginning 1 November, and for the quarter ending 31 October. He made muster in October, but the treasury balked at paying him for service after 28 August and before the end of the fiscal year (29 September) because he made no muster during that period.⁸⁷ Such meticulous insistence might be regarded as merely indicative of the bureaucratic mind and its enjoyment of fussy trouble-making, but it was different with the complaint from the captain of Touque. He asserted that, having maintained his garrison since Michaelmas 1424, "il ait Requis ou fait Requérir de Receveur-general de Nor^d¹⁶ de lui faire compte et paiement desdiz

⁸⁶ Oct. 8, 1424, warrant on behalf of Sir John Salvain. Bib. Nat., fr. 26047, No. 326. Earlier in the year Sir John had been in difficulty from failure to muster "que grant temps apres" the period for which he was to be paid. *Ibid.*, fr. 4485, pp. 220-221, 238-239.

⁸⁷ Warrant of Jan. 11, 1425 n.s. Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 11¹⁵; Bib. Nat., fr. 4491, f. 85; fr. 4485, p. 273.

gaiges et Regards comme il appartient; Neantmoins soubz umbre de ce que notre treschier et bien ame Messire Guillaume Olgdalle grant seneschal de Normandie et par nous commis a Recevoir les monstres et Reveues des capitaines et compaignons des garnisons de Normandie nest venu ne autre pour lui Recevoir les monstres dudit exposant et par ainsy na peu faire apparoir desediz monstres ledit Receveur a este Reffusant de lui paier lesdiz gaiges et Regards." The Regent ordered the treasury to accept the captain's oath in lieu of musters.⁸⁸

Since the record is so fragmentary it is impossible to say that the situation at Touque indicates the ineffectiveness of the seneschal's administration of mustering. We may note, however, that for the following year the policy of putting more fortresses on the flat rate and so eliminating the need for mustering was extended to include Touque,⁸⁹ Cherbourg and Régnéville,⁹⁰ Caren-

⁸⁸ Warrant, March 8, 1425 n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 26047, No. 392. It would appear that the whole business of mustering was in the seneschal's hands this year, so that if he failed to attend to a matter nothing was done.

⁸⁹ For 1425-26 Touque was to be guarded for 300 l.t. plus revenues from the *guet*. *Ibid.*, fr. 26048, No. 463. In 1428-29, after restrictions had been made as to the rate of commutation for watch service, the *guet* at Touque was worth 1003 l.t. per year. Arch. Nat., KK 325^B, f. 16^{vo}. See also quittance, May 8, 1429. Arch. du Calvados, F Danquin, 2. The next year it brought in 927 l. 15 s.t. Arch. Nat., KK 325^B, f. 30 and Bib. Nat., P.O. 2135, Ogard, section 48472, No. 4. Possibly the high profits from the *guet* explain why the flat rate was reduced to 200 l.t. in 1426-27. *Ibid.*, fr. 26050, No. 755. This meant a saving of 788 l. 1 s.t. over the wages paid in 1424-25. *Ibid.*, fr. 4491, f. 56. Conches, which had previously been turned over to Lord Scales (see above note 81), was put at 500 l.t. a year under a new captain, Richard Waller. *Ibid.*, P.O. 3044, Waller, section 67576, No. 3. This would make an additional charge on the treasury.

⁹⁰ These were turned over to Sir Walter Hungerford, an absentee captain,

tan,⁹¹ Bayeux,⁹² possibly St. Germain,⁹³ in the next year Louviers,⁹⁴ and for 1427-28 Vernueil.⁹⁵ It is probable

for three years at 9000 l.t. a year, a saving of 5025 l. 5 s. 4 d.t. *Ibid.*, P.O. 1530, Hongerford, section 34945, No. 2; fr. 4491, ff. 51-52.

⁹¹ At Carentan the captaincy had been attached for years to the office of bailli of the Cotentin. In 1424-25 the two retinues numbered six mounted lances, two foot lances and twenty-four archers. Of these the garrison at Carentan was two foot lances and six archers costing 525 l. 15 s. 4 d.t. (*ibid.*, f. 50), the remainder, as bailli's retinue, would cost 2175 l. 10 s.t. For 1425-26 Carentan was at the flat rate of 500 l.t. (*ibid.*, fr. 26048, No. 549) and the bailli's retinue was reduced to the normal figures of two lances and twenty-four archers, costing 1938 l. 10 s.t. a year (*ibid.*, fr. 26049, No. 610). All this effected a saving of 238 l.t.

⁹² Similarly the same man was captain of Bayeux and bailli of Caen, maintaining in 1424-25 a joint retinue of three mounted lances, three foot lances and eighteen archers costing 1999 l. 15 s.t. a year. *Ibid.*, fr. 4491, f. 54. For 1425-26 Bayeux was at a flat rate of 500 l.t. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7940. The bailli's retinue brought to the normal figure for such a company cost 1938 l. 10 s.t. (quittance, April 9, 1426; Arch. du Calvados, F Danquin 2). This arrangement increased the cost by 438 l. 15 s.t.

⁹³ For St. Germain there is no record of any kind for 1425-26, but for 1426-27 it was held for 500 l.t. (Bib. Nat., fr. 26049, No. 677), a saving of 1497 l. 15 s.t. over 1424-25 (*ibid.*, fr. 4491, f. 71).

⁹⁴ Louviers was to be held for two years (1426-28) at 400 l.t. a year. Warrant, Nov. 25, 1426; Arch. de l'Eure, B 116; Bib. Nat., fr. 26051, No. 947. In 1424-25 this garrison cost 786 l. 18 s. 4 d.t. *Ibid.*, fr. 4491, f. 59. In all these places there is saving by 1427-28 of more than 7000 l.t. over 1424-25: see above notes 88-94.

⁹⁵ Sir John Fastolf agreed to guard Vernueil for 1500 l.t. a year. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7944. On June 4, 1423 Lord Scales became captain here with a garrison of twenty mounted lances, ten foot lances and ninety archers, to be paid locally from the revenues of the vicomtés of Conches, Bretheuil and Vernueil. Bib. Nat., fr. 26046, Nos. 75, 145. Wages for such a retinue would be 9936 l. 2 s. 2 d.t. Surreau records for 1423-24 that nothing was paid Scales, and that no revenue of any kind came in from the vicomté of Vernueil, and nothing from the *quartages* at Conches and Bretheuil. *Ibid.*, fr. 4485, pp. 22, 32, 37, 84, 98, 111, 124, 205. For 1424-25 Surreau's journal indicates a garrison at Vernueil of eight mounted lances, nine foot lances and fifty-one archers, but records no payments. *Ibid.*, fr. 4491, f. 58. Wages for

also that beginning with the fiscal year 1425-26 Gournay, Gisors, Pontoise, Neufchâtel and Vernon were detached from the Norman administration and turned over to Queen Katherine under the terms of her dowry.⁹⁶ Furthermore at some time in this period arrangement was made that Exmes should be held "pour les prouffis et emolumens du guet dudit lieu."⁹⁷ Thus nearly a third of the garrison forces were relieved from obligation to muster.⁹⁸ Such conditions indicate the feeling of security felt by the English leaders prior to the reverses of 1429.

Late in 1425 the seneschal's office was permitted to lapse when Sir William Oldhall's year of service ex-

such a force would be 5292 l. 10 s.t. There are no records for 1425-27. May we estimate a saving of about 3700 l.t.?

⁹⁶ In 1428-29 they were under the Queen's administration. March 25, 1426 n.s. there is reference to John Burgh as bailli of Gisors for Queen Katherine. Bib. Nat., P.O. 559, Burgh, section 12617, No. 7. Surreau paid him the year before (1424-25) as bailli of Gisors and captain of Vernon. Payments to these five garrisons that year totalled 7411 l. 4 s. 7 d.t. *Ibid.*, fr. 4491, ff. 65, 68, 73, 76. For 1425-28 there is no record. Letters patent of Dec. 18, 1424 directed that "les terres et seignouries de Pontois, Gisors, Vernon, Gournay, le Neufchastel et autres que tint en douaire feue la Royne Blanche pour la somme de xii^M l.t." be turned over to Queen Katherine. *Ibid.*, fr. 4488, p. 611. In 1428-29 Surreau records, as payment to garrisons at Gisors and Vernon, "neant pource quilz ont este baillez par le Roy avec autres chatelleries en douaire et soubz certain condicions a ma dame Katherine de France Royne d'Angleterre qui les tient et fait garder a ses despens." *Ibid.*, p. 288. There would be no saving in such case.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 328. This is for 1428-29. There is no record for Exmes prior to this and after 1424-25. Then the garrison cost about 1800 l.t. *Ibid.*, fr. 4491, f. 83. All the saving indicated above would be about 20,500 l.t. a year. Add the seneschal's salary (see below note 99) and the saving approaches ten per cent of the total expended for garrison wages in Normandy and Alençon in 1423-24. *Ibid.*, fr. 4485, p. 276.

⁹⁸ Bib. Nat., fr. 4485 and 4491 *passim*.

pired,⁹⁹ and that soldier went off on active service with the forces operating in Maine.¹⁰⁰ No doubt this was a detail in the arrangements being made for administration on the continent during Bedford's approaching sojourn in England. The supervision of the military forces, of which the process of mustering was the outward sign, was divided geographically between the treasury and the three lieutenants whom Bedford established along the frontiers. The Earl of Warwick had jurisdiction over the frontiers of France, Vermandois, Champagne, Brie and the Gâtinais; the Earl of Salisbury had similar jurisdiction on the frontiers of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Beauce and the Chartraine; while the Earl of Suffolk continued to command in the lower marches of Normandy.¹⁰¹ Each enjoyed authority to issue commissions of array for the companies in his section.¹⁰² Garrisons in the interior of Normandy came

⁹⁹ Probably Sir William's tenure of the seneschal's office ended Nov. 22, 1425. His pay began Nov. 23, 1424 (see above note 71). As grand seneschal he issued commissions of array Oct. 20, 1425 (*ibid.*, Clairambault 187, p. 6977, No. 2) and Nov. 16, 1425 (*ibid.*, P.O. 2133, Oldhall, section 48630, No. 2). These are the last documents which bear the title. For Nov. 29, 1425 commission of array from the Regent is for the retinue of Sir William as captain of Montsurs, serving in the forces for the conquest of Anjou and Maine. *Ibid.*, Porte de Fontanieu 113-114, ff. 461-462. This does not necessarily prove that he was not seneschal, but with the absence of any further mention of that office it makes it more probable that it ended at this time. This would save the treasury 1622 l. 4 s. 5 d. t. a year. *Ibid.*, fr. 4491, f. 7^{vo}.

¹⁰⁰ A muster roll of March 4, 1426 n.s. shows Sir William and the bailli of Chartres mustering Salisbury's retinue at the siege of La Ferté Bernard. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 94.

¹⁰¹ Letters patent of Nov. 26, 1425 relate to these three lieutenancies as well as to other matters. P.R.O., Transcripts 8, vol. 136, section 1.

¹⁰² A commission of array, March 15, 1426 n.s., mentions Suffolk as lieutenant and governor-general of the bailliages of Caen and the Cotentin. It is in Latin. Another, in French, of Aug. 26, 1426 adds "et autres basses

directly under the supervision of the treasury. The three chief treasury officials, Treasurer-general Belknap, Receiver-general Surreau and Controller-general Chamberlain, became themselves active agents in taking musters¹⁰³ or in issuing commissions of array to deputies.¹⁰⁴ This was the beginning of a civilian control over

marches de Normandie" and includes the clause "comme par le Roy nostre dits^s ayons este commis et ordonne pour prendre et Recevoir toutes les monstres et Reveues des gens estans es garnisons des places estans soubz notredit gouvernement." Bib. Nat., P.O. 2318, de la Pole, section 52328, Nos. 5, 6. A muster of April 24, 1426 made "devant La Ferte Benard" was under commission from the Earl of Salisbury issued the day before. Arch. de la Seine Inf., occupation anglaise, montres et sieges. For July 4, 1426 there is a commission of array in French from Warwick, captain and lieutenant-general of the king and Regent for the war in France and Normandy. Bib. Nat., fr. 25767, No. 155. These last two are not for garrisons. There is no other record.

¹⁰³ The earliest reference to activity by treasury officials is a quittance from John Chamberlain, "contrerolleur de la Re^{le} generale de Nor^{die}," dated Feb. 12, 1426 n.s. for 40 s.t. paid him Dec. 23, 1425, when he affirms "avoir vacque en la compaignie de mons^r le tresorier de Normandie pour prendre avec luy les monstres de messire Jehan Beauchamp chl^r capitaine de Pont del Arche et des gens de sa retenue." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11552. On Feb. 13, 1426 n.s. the same officials mustered the Rouen garrison. *Ibid.* 1424. The treasurer repeated this May 20, 1426, and, with the receiver-general, mustered Willoughby's retinue about to join the army for the conquest of Anjou and Maine. Arch. Nat., K 62, Nos. 25⁴, 25⁵. Mante garrison mustered Jan. 10, 1426 n.s. before all three officials; on June 17, 1426 before the treasurer; on July 23 before the treasurer and the receiver-general. *Ibid.*, Nos. 18², 25⁷; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11559. The muster at Harfleur, March 24, 1426 n.s., was by the controller-general (Bib. Nat., fr. 26049, No. 566), on 27 August it was by the treasurer (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 3603). At Essay the three together took muster March 9, 1426 n.s. Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 18². Feb. 17, 1426 n.s. they mustered the retinue of the bailli of Caen (quittance of April 9, 1426; Arch. du Calvados, F Danquin 2).

¹⁰⁴ The earliest surviving commission is from Belknap and Surreau, Aug. 20, 1426, relative to the retinue of the bailli of Caux. The two officials are acting as the Regent's commissioners. The document is in French.

the business of mustering, which was extended and systematized during the next decade. That it was not free from early difficulties appears from a warrant of Oct. 5, 1426, which directs payment to the garrison at Rouen for the quarter ending Sept. 28, 1426, despite the absence of musters. This fault was due to the inability of the treasurer and the receiver-general to take the musters, the former having gone to La Ferté Bernard to pay the soldiers lately besieging Montdoubleau, and the latter having been held at Paris by business before the Council. Since they had expected to take the muster, they had neglected to commission deputies to act for them.¹⁰⁵

Examples of red-tape, an exasperating feature of any official system, appear alongside the effective assertion of the king's right under the indentures. When Lord Talbot was appointed captain of Coutances, beginning Jan. 1, 1428, he arranged with his predecessor Sir Laurence Warren to continue his men in garrison until 1 May, when Talbot took over, but owing to "*plusieurs empeschemens*" Talbot's men at Coutances were not mustered until 17 June. Inasmuch as this retinue

There is no reference to putting the captain under oath, but the deputies are directed to take the muster "*en la maniere accoustumee et en lannee dernier passee ordonnee par notre dit seigneur le Regent, En nous certiffiant deuement soubz voz signetz des noms et seurnoms diceulx de la maniere de leurs habillemens et dequelz harnoiz ilz seront deffailans comme acoustume est a faire en tel cas.*" Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 25⁹. See also for Pont d'Ouve in October (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6825), and for Evreux in December (Bib. Nat., fr. 26049, No. 666). In general this form remained the standard for treasury commissions of array; an example is published in Luce, *op. cit.*, I, 261.

¹⁰⁵ Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 25¹⁰.

was taking over the place under a new indenture the warrant originally issued for paying wages directed payment only from first muster. Consequently, the treasury refused to pay for the seven weeks in May and June.¹⁰⁶ Or again considerable official confusion followed from the simple fact that Sir William Bucton, captain of Mante, when he became bailli of Mante also, in the summer of 1429 (an unusual date in the middle of the fiscal year), took over the retinue of his predecessor, Thomas Giffard, instead of bringing in a new company. These two "irregularities," in addition to the peculiar pressure of events in 1429, made for difficulty and delay. Although warrant to pay the new bailli was issued July 27, 1429, when he made indenture, the treasury officials deferred payment on the plea of verification until Sir William complained that "*obstant la grant occupacion quil a eue tant ala garde deladit ville de Mante et pour lexercice de sondit office comme pour la doubte et dangier des chemins qui ont este et encores sont,*" he had had no wages and was much inconvenienced in consequence. This was in December.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore he discovered that, being a new bailli, his retinue was entitled to pay only from first muster, and, although it was the same company which had been serving as bailli's retinue since Dec. 1, 1428, and had served throughout the last quarter of the fiscal year, viz. June 29–Sept. 28, 1429, according to the controller's certificate, the treasury argued that these men, now serving under Sir William, were entitled to pay only

¹⁰⁶ July 12, 1428, order to pay relieving Talbot of obligation to muster between 1 May and 17 June. Bib. Nat., fr. 26050, No. 918.

¹⁰⁷ A new warrant Dec. 18, 1429. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7958.

from 1 September when they mustered. Letters of relief, Dec. 13, 1429, saved the situation,¹⁰⁸ but even then he had to wait more than three months for his pay.¹⁰⁹ A somewhat similar situation with its attendant troubles appears with regard to Sir John Harpelay. In the fiscal year 1430-31 he was bailli of the Cotentin and captain of St. Lô. For the following fiscal year he made indenture as bailli of Caen and captain of Neully Levêque, but special warrant of Nov. 8, 1431 ordered payment for his two retinues in the Cotentin and at St. Lô for the time served after Michaelmas 1431, when the indentures for those positions expired. He maintained these retinues there until 27 November, when new companies arrived, and made muster. But the treasury asserted that he was discharged from being bailli of the Cotentin and captain of St. Lô on 6 November, and was succeeded by the new appointee, Sir Thomas Tunstall. This discharge, Sir John asserted, was not delivered to him until 27 November, when Sir Thomas was installed at St. Lô and began to draw pay. Sir John took possession at Neully the next day, but under the treasury ruling he was faced with loss of three weeks' pay for two retinues totalling seventy men. A new warrant of April 1432 directed payment.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Arch. de la Seine Inf., Fonds Danquin, Supplement, Acquisition Millet, No. 723.

¹⁰⁹ Surreau's seventh account (1428-29) gives the muster date and the date of payment, April 1, 1430 n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, p. 293.

¹¹⁰ April 28, 1432 n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 26293, No. 876. Tunstall's certificate of Nov. 27, 1431, recording his taking possession at St. Lô, is in Arch. de la Manche, A. supplement 3882. It is interesting to note that, when Harpelay was discharged 6 November, a commission of array for his two retinues was issued to Jean Escourtemer, lieutenant at St. Lô of the vicomte of Caren-

At this point it is appropriate to consider the new office of garrison controller which, established, as we have seen, at the beginning of 1425, was extended during the next three years into twenty-two of the garrisons and even applied temporarily to two of the baillis' retinues.¹¹¹ The office had precedents at Calais, Bor-

tan, and Nicholas Warriot, master of the money at St. Lô. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 3696. But Tunstall's bailli's retinue (and presumably the garrison also) was mustered 28 November by Thomas Pelewe, vicomte of Coutances, and Jean de Saint Fromont, lieutenant-general of the vicomte of Carentan. Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 13³³. Presumably their commission was made out 6 November also and given to Sir Thomas. Why did not the same commissioners muster the two out-going and the two in-coming retinues?

¹¹¹ Although the earliest mention of a controller is in an indenture for St. Germain (see above note 82), Surreau's journal, 1424-25 (Bib. Nat., fr. 4491, f. 71), gives no indication of a controller there. When this place went on the flat rate (see above note 93) no controller would be needed. Arrangements for controllers at Gisors and Pontoise (*ibid.*, fr. 4491, ff. 65, 73) similarly would end when those places were turned over to the Queen (see above note 96). Jan. 1, 1425 n.s., Richard Clerc took office as controller at Rouen (*ibid.*, f. 62); 6 January, William Herman did the same at Mante (*ibid.*, f. 69). Three of the indentures made in the fall of 1425 are left. All contain the controller clause; Coutances (Bib. Nat., fr. 26048, No. 464); Rouen (*ibid.*, No. 488); bailli of Caux (Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 21). For Coutances the next document is a discharge for 70 l.t. on the vicomte dated Feb. 22, 1428 n.s. in favor of Roger Garnesey, controller. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 518. There is no other record of a controller for the bailli, and the clause is omitted from the bailli's indenture of Sept. 18, 1428. *Ibid.* 11599. Possibly the baillis' retinues were subject to the garrison controller of the place where the bailli had his headquarters. This is suggested by a controller's commission appointing William Halifax controller of the garrison at Caen "et aussy de la retenue du bailli illec." *Ibid.* 6846. When his successor was appointed in January 1434 this was omitted. Bib. Nat., fr. 26057, No. 2218. There are no *contrerolles* for any bailli's retinue, nor do the quittances indicate that they were "controlled," except one for the bailli of Rouen as indicated below. In 1438 there were controllers for Lord Scales's escort and for Lord Faucomberge's escort. *Ibid.*, fr. 26064, No. 3437; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 442; Arch. de la Seine Inf., Fonds Danquin, supplement, No. 500. For the quarter

deaux and Harfleur, where the English Exchequer had had treasurers and controllers whose account books are

Dec. 29, 1425–March 29, 1426 n.s. at Harfleur payment is made, April 6, 1426 n.s., as per *contrerolle*. Bib. Nat., fr. 26049, No. 566. Muster roll of Aug. 27, 1426 shows Thomas Harpeffeld, controller. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 3603. Indenture of Oct. 3, 1426 for Falaise provides for a controller (Arch. du Calvados, F Danquin 192), and payment for the quarter March–June 1427 rebates on absences (*ibid.* 2), *contrerolle* for April 1–June 30, 1428 shows John Hayden as controller (*ibid.* 193). For the quarter Dec. 29, 1426–March 29, 1427 n.s. payment is made for the Gaillard garrison as per *contrerolle* (Bib. Nat., Clairambault 140, p. 2693, No. 44), and muster roll of April 25, 1427 shows Richard Nynny as controller (*ibid.*, fr. 25768, No. 226). At Honfleur payment for the same quarter is made as per *contrerolle* (*ibid.*, fr. 26049, No. 715), and muster of Aug. 24, 1427 mentions Roger Guernesey as controller (see above Coutances) (*ibid.*, fr. 25768, No. 255). At Caen payment for the quarter June–September 1427 shows rebate for absences (*ibid.*, P.O. 519, Brinkeley, section 11677, No. 3), and muster roll of Dec. 13, 1427 names Thomas Haydon, controller (Bib. de Rouen, MS. Mart. 199, No. 21).

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Similar documents record controllers at Pont del Arche; indenture, September 1427 (Bib. Nat., P.O. Beauchamp, section 5297, No. 5), muster roll, Dec. 27, 1427, John Waltair, controller (*ibid.*, fr. 25768, No. 266): Meulan; indenture, Sept. 22, 1427 (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7945), John Wenlok was controller there in 1428 (Bib. Nat., fr. 4188, p. 187): Domfront, quittance, Dec. 27, 1427–March 29, 1428 n.s. (*ibid.*, Clairambault 182, p. 6543, No. 13): Avranches, quittance, March 30–June 28, 1428 (*ibid.*, P.O. 466, Bourg, No. 5), *contrerolle*, June 29–Sept. 28, 1428, Jenicot le Bougre, controller (*ibid.*, fr. 25768, No. 298): Essay, muster roll, June 26, 1428, Thomas Chappelle, controller (Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 1¹), quittance, June 29–Sept. 28, 1428 (*ibid.*, No. 7²): bailli of Rouen, quittance for the same quarter (Bib. Nat., Clairambault 198, p. 8147, No. 9). There was a *contrerolle* for this bailli as late as September 1432 (*ibid.*, p. 8153, No. 18). St. Lô, quittance, July 2–Sept. 28, 1428 (*ibid.*, P.O. 238, section 5297, No. 8): Pontorson, quittance, Aug. 2–Sept. 28, 1428 (Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 1¹²). Alençon, William Miles dit Tailleux, controller; Argentan, Richard Stoklon, controller; Fresnay, Thomas Grant, controller; Tinbelaine, George Nessefeld, controller, appear in Surreau's account book for 1428–29 (Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, pp. 175, 190–191, 194). This book shows Evreux, Arques and Neufchâtel the only places without controllers with retinues large enough to warrant one. *Ibid.*, pp. 270, 305. Evreux indenture of Nov. 25, 1429 had the controller clause (Brit.

still available.¹¹² These show that a detailed record was made of the number of days served by the men of the garrison upon which payment of wages depended.¹¹³ It may be surmised, however, that the real institutional precedent for these new controllers was not an Harfleur official but the captain's clerk. Only in imagination, for want of adequate record, can we reconstruct the inner working of a retinue, the actual relations existing between a captain and his men. They too were bound together by contracts as to service and pay, the captain as employer, the men as recipients of wages. In a period oblivious to real military authority and efficiency there was no conception of "absence without leave" as a punishable offense in the modern sense. The *contrerolles*

Mus., Add. Ch. 179), and Henry Brinchyn began service as controller there Jan. 12, 1430 n.s. (Bib. Nat., fr. 25769, No. 462; Clairambault 189, p. 7227, No. 83). Arques muster roll of Oct. 21, 1430 names William Merlin, controller (*ibid.*, 182, p. 6545, No. 16). At Neuchâtel there was a controller from October 1430 (Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 10¹⁸; Bib. Nat., P.O. 65, No. 17). How long this lasted is obscure. The next record is the statement of garrisons for 1433-34 referring to Thomas Kiriell as captain to be paid from the *ap-patissements* in enemy territory (Stevenson, II², 544). Presumably this required no controller. July 1, 1434, a garrison under Talbot mustered at Neuchâtel (Bib. Nat., fr. 25771, No. 859), and one of the commissioners reported that he had asked many persons about a controller "pour estre present avec nous aprendre lesdictes monstres lesquelz nous avoient Relate que il ny en avoit point Et que puis ung an et demi en ca ilz navoient veu personne qui excersat ledit office de contrerolleur Et que cestoit chose tresnecessaire de y pourveoir pour le bien et prouffit du Roy." A new controller arrived Aug. 16, 1434. *Ibid.*, P.O. 2021, Montgomery, section 46306, No. 19. He was still there at the end of 1441. Arch. de la Seine Inf., occupation anglaise, monstres et sieges.

¹¹² For Calais see P.R.O., E 101/188, No. 1; 101/190, Nos. 7-12, 13; 101/192, Nos. 17, 20. A *contrerolle* of Bordeaux castle is E 101/189, No. 6.

¹¹³ See the account book of Simon Fleet at Harfleur under Henry V. *Ibid.*, For. Accts. 69; Ex. Accts. 49/7, 48/6.

show us that individual soldiers went off "hors de la ville en leurs besoingnes et affaires ou bon leur a semble," or "a leurs aventures,"¹¹⁴ and it is scarcely probable that this is anything new. Did the captain's clerk keep record of these "vacations," and did the captain withhold from his men their pay for the days of absence? It seems highly probable that he did.¹¹⁵ And the treasury, basing its payment on the muster roll, probably paid the captain more wages for his retinue than he paid to his men. If this was the case the controller would be merely taking over the work of the captain's clerk and reporting his record to the treasury, and, on the basis of this report, the treasury would appropriate the wages of the absentees hitherto enjoyed by the captain. Since the latter had agreed in his indenture to maintain continually a certain number of men in garrison, no legitimate grievance could be formulated

¹¹⁴ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 25842; Bib. Nat., fr. 25772, No. 937. In a pardon of April 1424 a man-at-arms describes how he and his companions left a garrison "pour aler querir leur aventure ou pays de Normandie come gens darmes ont acoustume faire." P. Le Cacheux, *Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907-8), I, 85. Relative to a muster in January 1429 at Tombelaine Surreau notes "Esquelles sont contenuz trois hommes darmes et vii archiers acheval qui comparurent ausdictes monstres et pour la situation dudit lieu ny ont point voulu servir durant ledit moys Pourquoy ausy ne leur est point compte de leurs gaiges dicelluy mois." Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, p. 235. These men were free to do as they wished at the risk of not being paid.

¹¹⁵ If there was no such record how account for such statement of absences as appears in the Earl Marshal's accounting for service at Pontoise in 1420-21? P.R.O., Ex. Accts 50/19. Or how could Suffolk assert in the letter of affirmation of Feb. 18, 1424 n.s. that up until Sept. 25, 1423 he had a retinue of thirty-four lances and ninety archers at St. Lô, and after that date twenty-eight lances and sixty-six archers? Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, p. 325. Since the captain was in the business for profit he probably avoided paying any unnecessary wages.

against this effort to supervise the retinue. It is very possible that one of the earliest controllers had originally been clerk to the captain and had worked up to a higher place in the garrison.¹¹⁶ That the controller did not himself exercise clerical functions, but had a subordinate who did, appears from a letter of Jan. 16, 1433 n.s. from the treasurers to Surreau explaining that Sir John Fastolf, captain of Alençon, had handed in a *contrerolle* for his garrison "fait par Thomas Hartelay soubz son signe manuel soy disant clerc de feu Jehan Fferrefeld quil vivoit escuier et contrerolleur deladit garnison dAlencon servant pour ung quartier dan fini le xxviii^e jour de Septembre dernier passe en labsence dudit Fferrefeld qui puis nagaires aeste tue, muldry et ocis par les adversaires du Roy notredits^r sur les chemins en retournan de Paris comme de ce est voix commune ouquel quartier aucun ne sest entremis ou dit lieu dAlencon de loffre de contrerolleur dicelle garnison comme contrerolleur." ¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ William Harman became controller at Mante, Jan. 6, 1425 n.s. See above note 111. May 5, 1423, the muster of Meulan was taken by Sir Philip Branche and William Herman, clerk. Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 72. Sir Philip was then captain of Mante. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 169, p. 5307, No. 5. The next year, Jan. 28, 1424 n.s., Herman, as procurator for Edward McWilliam, bailli and captain of Mante, gave quittance for wages of the preceding quarter for the garrison. *Ibid.*, fr. 4485, pp. 229-230. In June 1424 he is lieutenant of Mante leading part of the garrison to the siege of Gaillon. *Ibid.*, p. 289. He was still controller in October 1441. *Ibid.*, fr. 25776, No. 1538. The other controller of January 1425 was named Clerc. See above note 111. Jenicot le Bougre, who became controller at Avranches in 1428 (*ibid.*, fr. 25768, No. 298), described himself in September 1424 as "Tresorier et Receveur de noble homme Thomas Burgh escuier capp^{ne} dAvranches," and showed letters of attorney dated Feb. 15, 1424 n.s. *Ibid.*, fr. nouv. acq. 1461, Nos. 411-412.

¹¹⁷ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11791. The *contrerolle* for Tombelaine (Dec. 29,

Some conception of the controller's status can be inferred from the instances where we know something about the men appointed, even if that group is a small one.¹¹⁸ Some of them had been recipients from Henry V of confiscated lands and lordships,¹¹⁹ or had held positions as local officials,¹²⁰ or had been lieutenants or even

1443-March 29, 1444 n.s.) is certified by "Jehan le Mestre clerck et commis de Thomas d'Aultry, contrerolleur de la dicte garnison, le tout ainsy que lay trouve et eu par le registre sur ce fait." Luce, II, 165. Probably this controller had been an archer (Thomas Dautre) in this garrison in 1432. *Ibid.*, I, 308. Domfront *contrerolle* (Dec. 28, 1437-March 30, 1438 n.s.) is headed "Lestat et contrerolle de la garnison de Dampfort fait et contrerouille par moy Jehan Gault clerck et serviteur de Thomas Massy contrerouilleur delacelle garnison en son absence et par le registre de son contrerolle." Bib. Nat., fr. 25774, No. 1313.

¹¹⁸ For the period 1425-1442 we have the names of ninety-eight controllers; of these there is other information as to eighteen.

¹¹⁹ This applies to John Fairfield (Alençon, 1431), Rôles de Brèquigny 417; William Merlin (Arques, 1430), *ibid.* 377; Jenicot le Bougre (Avranches, 1428), *ibid.* 1125; William Halifax (Caen, 1430), *ibid.* 362, 525; William Alcock (Cherbourg, 1439), *ibid.* 447; Thomas Chappelle (Essay, 1428), *ibid.* 125; Richard Nynnys (Gaillard, 1427), *ibid.* 558; Geoffrey Agthon (Honfleur, 1431), *ibid.* 367; John Selby (Neufchâtel, 1430), *ibid.* 421; John Basset (Rouen, 1426), *ibid.* 627; George Nessefeld (Tombelaine, 1429), *ibid.* 490; Henry Spicier (Touque, 1430), *ibid.* 1048; Thomas Warde (Vire, 1431), *ibid.* 124; William Herman (Mante, 1425), Bib. Nat., P.O. 1486, section 33596, Nos. 2-3.

¹²⁰ Jenicot le Bougre (Avranches, 1428) had been *grenetier* at Pontaudemer from Jan. 2, 1419 until Sept. 29, 1427. The treasury attempted to take advantage of this by paying his wages as controller in 1429 with a discharge on the arrears of his collections as *grenetier* for 1427. According to the auditors in 1431 this transaction was still incomplete, which must mean that Le Bougre had not yet closed his accounts as *grenetier*, nor given quittance for his pay as controller. Calendar of Norman Rolls, *ut supra* vol. XLII, 320; Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, p. 72. At Mante William Herman was controller of the garrison and of the *grenier du sel* simultaneously. The latter appears from documents of 1427, 1432-33. *Ibid.*, P.O. 1486, Harman, section 33593, Nos. 2, 6. Thomas Haydon (Caen, 1427) had been a subordinate in the treasury

captains in other garrisons.¹²¹ Unlike a captain, the controller did not make indenture with the government but received a commission, first from the king, later from the treasurers, and was sworn in like any other civilian official. The following documents will serve to illustrate this last:

Henry par la grace de dieu Roy de France et dAngleterre atous ceulx qui ces lettres verront salut. Savoir faisons que nous confians aplin es sens, loyaulte, preudommie et souffissance de notre bien ame Guillaume Barloe escuier, natif de notre Royaulme dAngleterre ycellui par ladviz et deliberacion des gens de notre grant conseil estans pardevers nous avons esleu, ordonne, institue et estably, ordonnons instituons et

under Alington and *receveur des quartages* for the bailliage and vicomté of Caen (1419-1422). P.R.O., Ex. Accts. 187/14, f. 8^{vo}, 11^{ro}; 188/7, f. 8^{vo}, 14^{ro}. In 1421 he was commissioned *louvetier* for a year in the Cotentin. Rôles de Brèquigny 975. In 1430 he was discharged as controller because he had become "esleu sur le fait des aydes" at Caen. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6846. Thomas Harpefeld, after being controller at Harfleur, became vicomte of Arques and later vicomte of Vire. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 182, p. 6555, No. 26; P.O., 1487, Harpefeld, section 33620, No. 2. Simon de Maubuisson (Neufchâtel, 1430) had been *grenetier* and *receveur des aides* at Neufchâtel and continued in those offices (? during and) after his service as controller. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6817, 6873; Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, p. 53. Possibly John Basset (Rouen, 1426) had been vicomte of Argentan in 1418. Rôles de Brèquigny 1198; Vautier, p. 21.

¹²¹ William Herman had been lieutenant at Mante. See above note 116. Geoffrey Agthon (Honfleur, 1431) had been lieutenant at Conches in 1422. Rôles de Brèquigny 1148. Possibly John Kirkeby (Meulan, 1431) is the man who was captain of Lisieux in 1421. *Ibid.* 1012. Thomas Massy (Vire, 1429) led the Dieppe contingent to Le Crottoy siege in 1423. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 3565. In August 1428 he was lieutenant of Pont del Arche. Bib. Nat., fr. 25768, No. 290. George Nessefeld (Tombelaine, 1428) had been captain of Vire in 1419-20 with a retinue of twenty lances and sixty archers. Rôles de Brèquigny 838; Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 6. In 1421 he was lieutenant of Meulan. Calendar of Norman Rolls, *ut supra*, vol. XLII, 427.

establissons par la teneur de ces presentes contrerooleur tant comme il nous plaira des tiers, gaings et prouffis de guerre, des defaultes du nombre et absence des cappitaine, hommes darmes et archiers par nous ordonnees et establis pour la garde, seurte et defense des ville et chastel de Carenten soubz ledit cappi^{ne} et aussi des habillemens, arraiemens et souffissans desdiz cappi^{nes}, hommes darmes et de trait de sa retenue et de tous autres drois et devoirs dependens de la dicte retenue qui nous pourroient ou devoient, pourront ou devront appartenir. Et avons donne et donnons auctorite et mandement especial audit Guillaume Barloe de contre rooler toutes les choses dessus dictes et chacune dicelles, assister aux monstres et reveues que sera ledit cappitaine desdiz gens darmes et de trait de sadit retenue et nous certiffier ou noz amez et feaulx les tresorier et Receveur generaulx denoz finances de Normandie dedens le second moix dun chacun quartier dan de tout ce que dessus est toucheie. Et pour ce faire avons appointie que ledit Guillaume Barloe et deux archiers souffissans avecques lui soient et demeurent en notre service du nombre et ordonnance de la retenue des gens et archiers dudit capp^{ne} frans, quietes et exemps de tous autres services envers ledit cappi^{ne} et ladicte place et que des gaiges et regards delui et desdiz deux archiers il soit paie apart par ledit Receveur general de Normandie ou autre qui paiera les gaiges dicelui cappi^{ne} et de ses gens aux termes et par la maniere que ledit cappitaine et sesdiz gens seront paieez. Et avecques ce ordonnons et commandons tresexpressement que audit cappitaine, ses lieutenants et mareschaulx et autres officiers que ilz facent savoir et notifient a icelui Guillaume Barloe les mos de guet dechacune nuit afin que pour la salvacion et seurete dudit lieu de Carenten et le bien et prouffit de nous mesmes il puis aler, veoir et visiter ceulx qui feront icelui guet. Sy donnons en mandement par ces mesmes presentes ausdiz tresorier et Receveur generaulx de Normandie que prins et receu dudit Guillaume Barloe le serment en tel cas acoustume ilz le mettent et instituent ou facent mettre et instituer de par nous en possession et saisine dudit office de contrerooleur et dicelui ensemble des droiz, gaiges, prouffis et emoluments

qui y apartiennent le facent, seuffient et laissent joir et user plainement et paisiblement le appellent ou facent appeller estre et assister ala recepcion desdiz monstres et reveues et par tout ailleurs ou il appartendra et besoing sera pour le fait dudit contre roole et la confirmacion des drois qui nous pourront ou devront appartenir comme touchie est dessus en ostant et deboutant dudit office de contrerooleur Phelippe le Fevre lequel nous en avons deschargie et deschargons par ces dictes presentes pour certaines justes causes qui ace ont meu meuvent nous et ceulx de notre dit conseil. Mandons en oultre au dit tresorier et general gouverneur de nosdiz finances de Normandie que par ledit Receveur general dicelles il faie paier, baillier et delivrer des deniers de sa recepte audit Guillaume Barloe ou a son certain commandement les gaiges et regars de lui et de sesdiz deux archiers de quartier en quartier ou autrement au priz selon ce et en la maniere plus aplain contenue et declairee es endenteures faictes touchan lagarde dicelle ville et chastel de Carenten entre nous et ledit cappitaine ainsi que les avoit et prenoit ledit Phelippe le Fevre accomancier ledit paiement du premier jour de la monstre que icellui Barloe fera delui et sesdiz deux archiers apres ce quil sera mis en possession dudit office de contrerooleur pardevant les commis de par nous a recevoir les monstres et reveues dudit cappi^{ne} et desdiz gens de sa retenue lesquelz nous avons aussi commis et connectons a prendre et recevoir pour ceste foiz seulement celles dudit Barloe et desesdiz archiers. Et par rapportant ces presentes ou vidimus dicelles fait soubz seel royal pour la premier foiz seulement monstres ou reveues quil ledit Barloe sera tenu faire avecques sesdiz gens dicelui cappi^{ne} pour les autres quartiers dan ou le temps ensuivant sadite premiere monstre si souvent quil en sera requiz de par nous ou par les tresorier et Receveur general dessusdit et quictances sur ce souffisans nous voulons tant ce qui paie aura este audit Barloe pour la cause dessusdit par icelui Receveur general estre alloue en ses comptes et rabatu de sa recepte par tout ou il appartendra par noz amez et feaulx les gens de noz comptes a Paris ausquelz nous mandons que ainsi le facent sans contredit ou difficulte, mandons aussi

audit cappi^{ne} de Carenten et asesdiz gens et atous noz autres justiciers et officiers ou a leurs lieux tenants et achacun deulx si comme alui appartendra que audit Barloe ilz obeissent et entendent diligenment touchant les choses dessusdit et leurs deppendances par nous alui commises ainsi que declaire est cy dessus et lui prestant et donnent conseil confort et aide se mestier est et requiz ensont. En tesmoing dece nous avons fait mectre aces presentes nostre seel ordonne en labsence du grant. Donne a Rouen le xvii^e jour d'Octobre lan de grace mil iiiii^e et trente et le viii^e de notre regne. Ainsi signe Par le Roy ala relacion de son grant conseil. J. DE LIMAIN.¹²²

¹²² Bib. Nat., fr. 26053, No. 1443. The issuing of commissions may have begun in this year 1429-30. The earliest one remaining is Dec. 14, 1429 for Louis de Charron at Dreux. *Ibid.*, fr. 25769, No. 469. *Contrerolle* for Bayeux (December-March 1430 n.s.) records that Robert Bechthon was commissioned Dec. 28, 1429. *Ibid.*, No. 452. There is commission of Oct. 31, 1430 for Richard Nynnys, although he had been controller at Gaillard for over five years. He is named in a muster roll of April 25, 1427 (*ibid.*, fr. 25768, No. 226), and there is reference to a *contrerolle* for the preceding quarter (December-March 1427 n.s.). *Ibid.*, Clairambault 140, p. 2693, No. 44. Commission of Jan. 30, 1431 n.s. reads: "Savoir faisons que pour consideracion deceque puis aucun temps enca notre bien ame Jehan Stafford escuier abien et loyallyment exerce et exerce encores de present comme lendit loffice de contreroleur de la garnison de Essay et pour la bonne relacion qui faicte nous aeste de ses sens, loyaulte et bonne dilligence icellui — nous avons continue et continuons oudit office." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6847. This may be merely the confirmation of a temporary situation at Essay, since we know that Thomas Chappelle, the preceding controller, completed the *contrerolle* through June 30, 1429. *Ibid.* 1106. For the following quarter Surreau records Chappelle absent from muster and no *contrerolle* sent in. Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, pp. 193, 325. Letter of expedition of April 18, 1431 n.s. orders payment of wages from Oct. 29, 1430 to John Kyrkeby, controller at Meulan, who has been continued in office, and "de nouvel" commissioned. *Ibid.*, P.O. 1610, Kirkeby, section 37266, No. 4. His predecessor functioned at least until September 1429. *Ibid.*, fr. 25768, No. 409. The earliest extant commission issued by the treasurers instead of the king is dated Jan. 13, 1434 n.s. (*ibid.*, fr. 26057, No. 2218), but in a certificate of July 20, 1432 the captain of Lisieux records that "Guillaume Bransby escuier contreroleur dudit lieu ma presente une commission alui donne par mess^{rs} les tresorier et Receveur general de Normandie de office de contreroleur." *Ibid.*, Clairambault 189, p. 7271,

It will be noted that this letter patent serves not only as a commission but also as a warrant addressed to the treasurer general as a basis for paying the controller's wages. It was necessary, therefore, to supplement it with a letter of expedition of the following form:

Thomas Blount chevalier tresorier general gouverneur des finances du Roy nostreseigneur ou pais et duchie de Normandie a Pierre Surreau Receveur general desdictes finances salut. Veu par nous les lettres du Roy notredit seigneur auvidimus desquelles colacione aloriginal ces presentes sont atachees

No. 149. A Pontoise *contrerolle* (June–September 1434) is made out “En tant quil en est peu venir ala congnoissance de moy Estienne de Vaulx commis adce par mes treshonorez seigneurs messeigneurs les tresoriers et gouverneurs generaulx de toutes les finances du Roy notres^r en Nor^{die} tant par les papiers et memoires estans en lostel de Pierre Lond contreroleur dudit lieu de Pontoise apresent detenu et occupe par les ennemis du Roy.” *Ibid.*, fr. nouv. acq. 21156, No. 12. At Régnéville William Goulet is commissioned “de nouvel” by the treasurer-general alone March 1, 1437 n.s. *Ibid.*, fr. 26062, No. 3114. There is a similar document of March 6, 1438 n.s. for Pierre de Ver at Touque. *Ibid.*, fr. 26064, No. 3426. On a muster roll at Gisors, July 31, 1435, the commissioners wrote, “ace present et appelle avec nous Jehan Soulby soy disant contrerolleur de la garnison par lettres desdiz tresorier dont il appara aquoy se opposa Henry Gregory soy disant contrerolleur par lettres patentes du Roy et pour ce que ce nestoit anous le Recevoir aopposicion en appella.” *Ibid.*, fr. 25772, No. 966. Gregory made the *contrerolle* for June 24–Sept. 23, 1434 (*ibid.*, fr. 25771, No. 894), but we do not know when he was commissioned. The original arrangement at Gisors for the fiscal year 1433–34 was for the captain to be paid from *appatisement* of enemy territory (Stevenson, II. 544). This would require no controller. But a similar arrangement at Neufchâtel was changed in the summer of 1434. See above note 111. Gisors muster roll of July 20, 1430 names John Wenlok, controller. Arch. de l'Eure, B 107. The treasurers were still issuing commissions in October 1441. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 3919. The commission of July 8, 1446 for Fresnay is a royal letter patent. R. Triger, *Fresnay-le-Vicomte* (Mamers, 1886), p. 166. This was a phase of York's second administration. Both these later commissions are shorter and simpler than the one here printed.

soubz notre signet par lesquelles le Roy notreditseigneur a ordonne et instituer Jehan Stafford escuier contreroleur de la garnison d'Essay le quel office il a excerce par cy devant duquel Sttafford nous avons aujourd'hui prins et receu le serment de bien et deuement excercer ledit office comme il est acoustume et aucas appartient et ce fait lavons mis et mettons par ces presentes en possession et saisine dicellui office de contreroleur pour icellui faite et excercer selon le povoir alui donne par lesdictes lettres royaulx. Si vous mandons et par vertu desdictes lettres que des deniers de votre recepte vous paiees, baillies et delivres audit Jehan Stafford ou a son certain commandement les gaiges et regars delui et de deux archiers alui ordonnes avoir et tenir audit lieu d'Essay ala sauvegarde dicelui et excerce de son dit office selon ses monstres et reveues quil en fera avec les autres gens darmes et de trait deladict garnison pour le temps tout ainsi pour les cause et par la forme et maniere contenen esdictes lettres et que le Roy nostre dit seigneur le veult et mande par icelles. Donne a Rouen le vii^e jour de Fevrier lan mil cccc et trente.

LUILIER.¹²³

Prior to the time of these particular documents the original arrangements of 1425 had been modified in detail. It was prescribed that the controller should be chosen from among the foot lances, but that he should receive the pay of a mounted lance.¹²⁴ The earlier reti-

¹²³ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6848.

¹²⁴ This appears in an indenture of Sept. 18, 1428 for Pontorson. Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 1462, No. 131; see also next note relative to Mante. Was this change intended to increase the independence of the controller? It more than doubled his pay, since a foot lance at 8d. sterling a day got for a month of 30 days one pound sterling (6 l. 13 s. 4 d. t. a month or 20 l. 4 s. 5 d. t. a quarter), while a mounted man-at-arms at a shilling sterling a day with "regards" equivalent to 6d. more got £2. 5s. sterling (15 l. t. a month or 45 l. 10 s. t. a quarter). In the previous fiscal years the muster rolls show that in some places the controller was a mounted lance, in others a foot lance: mounted; Caen (Dec. 13, 1427. Bib. de Rouen, MS Mart. 199, No. 21),

nue of three archers, the normal following of a man-at-arms, was cut down to two.¹²⁵ Under his commission the controller was to assist at musters and supervise the conduct of watch and ward.¹²⁶ Once appointed, a controller held his position without consideration for the shift of captains and retinues garrisoning the fortress, although he and his men mustered as part of such

Coutances (Sept. 24, 1428. Bib. Nat., fr. 25768, No. 296), Harfleur (Aug. 27, 1426. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 3603), Mante (see next note), Rouen (Feb. 13, 1426 n.s. John Bassett, "contreroleur a cheval." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1424, and May 20, 1426. Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 25⁵), but the roll of May 17, 1427 lists Richard Clerc, the controller, among the foot lances (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11574). Clerc was a foot lance, but not controller, in the muster of May 20, 1426: foot; Essay (June 26, 1428. Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 14), Gaillard (April 25, 1427. Bib. Nat., fr. 25768, No. 226), Honfleur (Aug. 24, 1427, *ibid.*, No. 255), but in the muster roll of June 14, 1428 the controller is Henry Brichain, a mounted lance (*ibid.*, No. 284), who had been listed as a mounted lance on the roll of Aug. 24, 1427, but not controller; Pont del Arche (Dec. 27, 1427. *ibid.*, No. 266).

¹²⁵ See indenture for Carentan, Oct. 26, 1429. Bib. Nat., fr. 26052, No. 1158. Was this a concession to the captain? Payment of the controller as a mounted lance with two archers prevailed at Mante in the fiscal year 1427-28. Muster roll of Feb. 24, 1428 n.s. lists William Harman as controller just after the captain in the list of four mounted lances. Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 38⁹. He may actually have been a mounted lance. For the two quarters March 30-Sept. 28, 1428, for himself and two archers he was paid 75 l. 9 s. 7 d.t. per quarter. Bib. Nat., P.O. 1486, Harman, section 33593, Nos. 4, 5. A third archer would have added 15 l. 10 s. 5 d.t. to this sum. The captain would have lost control over 91 l.t. per quarter.

¹²⁶ The earliest commission of array directing participation of the controller in the muster is one for St. Lô dated May 25, 1429. Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 7. In the muster taken under this commission the controller himself failed to pass muster, and did not sign the roll with the commissioners. *Ibid.*, No. 7². None of the existing records are of a sort to show the controller's part in supervising the watch. He and his men were to be "quiete de tous guetz et garde de la dicte place par nuy." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 179. Is there any connection with the issuance of the ordinance on the watch of September 1428? See *English Historical Review* L (January 1935), 36-60.

retinues, and, like them, received pay from the date of first muster.¹²⁷ He might be dismissed for attempting to hold another office at the same time,¹²⁸ or suspended for committing homicide,¹²⁹ or relieved, like William Halifax at Caen, because of charges and complaints "de faultes par luy commis en ses contrerolles tant voulentairement comme par ce quil est maladiif au lit le plus de temps, non clerck saichant escrire ne lire et par ce non puissant ne saichant pour excercer ledit office."¹³⁰ But the two original appointees at Rouen and Mante were still functioning in 1441-42, after seventeen or eighteen

¹²⁷ A certificate like the following served as record of first muster. "Nous Jehan de Radelif chevalier bailli et capp^{ne} d'Evreux certiffions atous aqui il appartient que Henry Brinchamp contrerolleur des guerres en la ville dudit Evreux vint et arriva en icelle ville le xii^{me} jour de Janvier derrain passe et en sa compaignie Robert Clayton et Thomas Coq archiers donq ledit contrerolleur nous a Requis ceste presente certification que acorde lui avons pour luy baillier cequil appartendra. Donne soubz notre signe manuel en labsence des seaulx dudit bailliage le vii^e jour de fevrier lan mil iiiii^e xxix. Radclyf." Bib. Nat., Clairambault 189, p. 7227, No. 81. A similar document for Lisieux, July 20, 1432 is *ibid.*, p. 7271, No. 149. These certificates served as a check on the controller. For instance, when the new controller at St. Germain reported that his predecessor with two archers departed on March 25, 1433 n.s. and was replaced by himself with his two archers (by implication on the same day), the treasury note records that the captain's certificate shows that the new controller arrived on 27 March and rebates for two days' absence accordingly. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11798.

¹²⁸ See above in note 120 on Thomas Haydon.

¹²⁹ William Paquinton at Bayeux was superseded between Sept. 1, 1433 and May 14, 1434, after at least two years' service. He was pardoned, and was still in office in 1442. Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 13¹⁶; K 67, Nos. 12⁶³, 12⁶⁵; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6877; Eg. Ch. 170; Bib. Nat., fr. 25771, No. 839. His pardon (April 25, 1434) shows that in July 1433 he killed another Englishman in a tavern brawl because the latter said that Paquinton was not a gentleman but was a haberdasher and the son of a haberdasher. Le Cacheux, *Actes de la Chancellerie d'Henri VI*, II. 279-282.

¹³⁰ Bib. Nat., fr. 26057, No. 2218.

years' service,¹³¹ and others of the early controllers were still in office.¹³² About twenty per cent of the controllers whose names we have for this period (1425-1442) had more than seven years' service in office, and most of these were still on duty at the end of the period.¹³³ The expansion of the controller system, representing as it does a policy of centralized supervision, was completed when, under stress of the events of 1429, the policy of permitting some places to be held at a flat rate was abandoned, and the government resumed the power to determine the size of each garrison and to inspect the retinues in all places to see that they were adequate. Such policy meant the appointment of controllers for places which had hitherto been without them.¹³⁴

¹³¹ This study does not go beyond the beginning of York's second term as royal lieutenant. There is record of William Herman still at Mante on Oct. 18, 1441 (*ibid.*, fr. 25776, No. 1538), and for Richard Clerc at Rouen Sept. 11, 1442. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 3945.

¹³² Roger Guernsey, who began service in 1427 at Honfleur, was transferred in 1428 to Coutances, where he was still on duty in 1444. Bib. Nat., fr. 25768, No. 255; Clairambault 163, p. 4999, No. 114; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 518. In 1446 he had been replaced as controller, but was still a foot lance in the garrison. Luce, II. 199. Henry Brychain, who succeeded Guernsey at Honfleur in 1428, was transferred in 1429 to Evreux, where he was still serving in 1440. Bib. Nat., fr. 25768, Nos. 255, 267, 420; fr. 26290, No. 7; fr. 25769, No. 462; Clairambault 185, p. 6857, No. 29. Richard Nynnys, appointed in 1427 at Gaillard, was still there in 1442. *Ibid.*, fr. 25768, No. 226; Arch. Nat., K 67, No. 127.

¹³³ Tabulation of one hundred and eighty-seven muster rolls, *contrerolles* and quittances provides the names of ninety-eight controllers. Twenty-three of these had seven or more years of service (the average is eleven), and twenty-one of the twenty-three were still serving in the early forties.

¹³⁴ This happened in 1429-30 at Bayeux (Bib. Nat., fr. 25769, Nos. 452, 527), Carentan (*ibid.*, Clairambault 142, p. 2905, No. 75), Caudebec (*ibid.*, P.O. 2501, Robessart, section 56184, No. 19), Exmes (*ibid.*, 2727, Standish, section 60861, No. 6), Gisors, Gournay and Neufchâtel (*ibid.*, 65, No. 11),

That the system was well established by 1431 appears clearly from the fact that the treasury itself began tampering with the position of the controllers in order to effect economies at their expense. The following documents of Nov. 19–20, 1431 show the government reducing the controllers' pay in order to get money for reinforcements at Alençon and Fresnay:

Henry Lancestre lieutenant de noble homme mons^r Jehan Salvain chevalier bailli de Rouen au vicomte de Ponteaudemer ou a son lieutenant salut. Nous avons aujourd'hui Receu unes lettres donnees et signees des tresorier et Receveur generaulx des finances de Normendie desquelles la teneur ensuit. Thomas Blount chevalier tresorier et general gouverneur des finances du Roy notres^t en Nor^d^e et Pierre Surreau Receveur general des finances au bailli de Rouen ou a son lieutenant salut. Nous avons Receu les lettres du Roy notres^r desquelles la teneur sensuit. Henry par la grace de dieu Roy de France et d'Angleterre a nos ames et feaulx les tresorier et Receveur generaulx de nos finances en Normendie salut et dilleccion. Savoir vous faisons que pour la seurte et

Pontoise (*ibid.*, 1483, Harington, section 33576, No. 2; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11641), Touque (Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 70), Vernon (*ibid.*, fr. 25769, No. 457; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 365), Vernueil (*ibid.*, fr. 26268, No. 574). The first *contrerolle* from Dreux is at this time. *Ibid.*, fr. 25769, No. 469. Conches has no record for 1429–30, but has a definite garrison in 1430–31, and possibly this meant a controller also. *Ibid.*, fr. 26054, No. 1558. St. Germain came off the flat rate in 1430–31. Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 10²⁴. Dieppe has no record for 1430–31, but has a garrison in 1431–32. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7968. Louviers fortifications were demolished in 1430. Cherbourg, Régnéville and Montvillers were the only places uncontrolled. Touque may have been without controller from about Aug. 14, 1430 until 1438 (see above note 122). Quittance of April 21, 1432 n.s. for March–September 1430 rebates the controller's pay for a quarter and a half, but records that he was paid with the retinue for the other half quarter. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 186, p. 6975, No. 80. The muster rolls and quittances for 1431–1437 have no sign of a controller.

sauvegarde des places de Caen, Alencon et Fresnay le Viconte et pour certaines aultres causes ad ce nous mouvans Nous par ladvis et deliberacion des gens de notre grant conseil estans pardevers nous avons conclud et ordonne que des quinze lances acheval qui sont ordonne pour la garnison de Caen le douze en seront envoyees et mises Cestassavoir six a Alencon et six a Fresnoy et ou lieu desdiz lances acheval en seront prinses douze apie esdiz lieux d'Alencon et Fresnoy et envoyee audit Caen car veu que la frontiere est plus grant et forte dennemis entour Alencon et Fresnoy que a Caen lesdiz xii lances acheval seront plus necessaires et prouffitables ausdiz lieux d'Alencon et de Fresnoy que a Caen. Avons aussi voulu et ordonne que au premier jour de Decembre prouchain venant en avant les contreroulleurs des garnisons de nos duchie de Nor^d^{ie} et pays de conqueste ne aultres qui sont payes de nos deniers de Nor^d^{ie} ne soient payes chacun que pour lance apie. Si vous mandons commandons et enioing-nons expressement que selon ceste presente nostre ordonnance et volente vous payes et contentes les dessusdis non obstant que les endenteures soyent au contraire. Et par Rapportant ces presentes avec quittances suffisans et les monstres deue-ment certiffies tout ce que paye aura este ausdiz contreroul-leurs et souldoyers selon le nombre et forme dessusdit sera aloue es comptes de vous Receveur general et Rabbatu de vostre Recepte par nos ames et feaulx gens de nos comptes a Paris ausquelx nous mandons que ainsy le facent sans contre-dit. Donne a Rouen le xix^e jour de Novembre lan de grace mil iiii^e xxxi Et de nostre Regne le x^m^e ainsy signe par le Roy ala Relacion du grant conseil estant pardevers lui. J. de Rinel. Pour lacomplissant desquelles par lordonnance et advis du conseil du Roy notres^r nous vous mandons que achacun des contrerolleurs des garnisons estans en vostre bailliage vous noctiffies par vos lettres ou aultrement deue-ment le plus bref et hastivement que pourres et dedens le premier jour de Decembre prouchain venant le contenu en icelles lettres affin quilz nen puissent pretendre ygnorance Et dece que fait en aures nous certiffies par vos lettres pour au sourplus pour ceder alentremement dicelles lettres selon

ce que mande nous est. Donne a Rouen soubz nos signes le xxiiii^e jour de Novembre lan mil iiii^e xxxi ainsy signe P. Luillier. Si vous mandons que vous signiffies et faictes savoir atous les contrerolleurs des garnisons estans en vostre viconte le contenu esdiz lettres jouxta leur forme et teneur. Et gardes que deffault ny ait. En certiffiant suffisanment mondit s^r le bailli ou son lieutenant de ce que fait en aures afin deue. Donne a Rouen le premier jour de Decembre lan mil iiii^e xxxi. Collacion faicte. J. DE LOURRAILLE.¹³⁵

Jehan, filz, frere et oncle de Roys, duc de Bedford et d'Anjou, Conte de Maine, de Richemont, de Kendale et de Harecourt a noz treschier et bien amez les tresorier et Receveur general des finances de mons^r le Roy en Normandie salut et dileccion. Comme mondit s^r par ses lettres patentes a vous adressans ait voulu et ordonne que de premier jour du mois de Decembre prouchain venant en avant les contreroleurs des garnisons du duchie de Normandie et pays de conquest et autres qui sont payez des deniers de Normandie ne soient payez chacun pour lance a pie Non obstant que les endenteures soient au contraire Enquoy aura le prouffit tel que lance acheval monte plus que lance apie Nous Regardans que les lieux et places d'Alencon et de Fresnay le Viconte sont grandement en frontieres des ennemis et adversaires Par vertu du pover que avons en ceste partie vous mandons et expressement enjoingnons que jusques a la somme de deniers et au dessoubz a quoy montera le prouffit du Rabaiz desdiz contreroleurs vous acompter dudit premier jour de Decembre en avant payez gaiges, Regardz et soldees a hommes darmes et de trait acheval qui notre ame et feal chevalier et grant maistre de notre hostel messire Jehan Ffastolf cap^{ne} et garde dudit lieu de Fresnoy et notre lieutenant en lagarde et capitainerie dudit lieu d'Alencon seront mis et serviront de creue depuis ledit temps en avant esdiz lieux et places d'Alencon et

¹³⁵ Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 13²¹.

de Fresnoy et selon ce quil vous en apparra par les monstres oultre et pardessus le nombre qui par mondits^r et par endenteures sur ce faictes y aeste et est ordonne et en la forme et maniere que les autres hommes darmes et de trait desdictes garnisons Sur lesquelz touteffoiz nous aurons et prendrons tiers, tiers des tiers, gainz et aultres droiz de guerre en forme acoustumee. Et par Raportant ces presentes et monstres desdiz hommes darmes et de trait de creue deuement faictes et certifiees par les contreroleurs ordonnez esdictes places avecques quittances souffisans tout ce que ainsi paye, baillie et delivre aura este sera alloue es comptes de vous Receveur general et Rabatu de votre Recepte sanz aucun contredit par noz treschiers et bien amez les gens des comptes de mondits^r a Paris ausquelz nous mandons que ainsi le facent. Donne a Rouen le vint^{me} jour de Novembre lan de grace mil cccc trente ung. Par mons^r le Duc. J. DROSAY.¹³⁶

These orders meant that the treasury continued to count the controller in each garrison as a mounted lance when with-holding his pay from the sum paid to the captain, but undertook actually to pay the controller the wages of a foot lance.¹³⁷ Such an arrangement effected a saving of 24 l. 19 s. 5 d.t. per quarter on each of the thirty-three garrisons or a total of slightly over 824 l. t. This sum was enough to maintain a *creue*

¹³⁶ Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 13²²; Bib. Nat., P.O. 1101, Fastolf, section 25366, No. 8.

¹³⁷ Controllers' quittances for the last quarter of 1431 acknowledge payment as a mounted lance until the end of November, and as a foot lance for December. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 391; Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 19²; Bib. Nat., Clairambault 171, p. 5493, No. 19. On the muster rolls the controllers were still listed with the mounted men since they counted as such on the garrison record. *Ibid.*, fr. 26279, No. 198; fr. 25770, No. 702; Brit. Mus., Eg. Ch. 165. Quittance (April 14, 1432 n.s.) for Meulan garrison for the first quarter of 1432 records rebate of 75 l. 9 s. 6 d.t. pay of the controller and his archers. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11711. The controller's quittance of the same date for the same quarter is for only 50 l. 11 s. 1 d.t. *Ibid.*, 16235.

nearly twice as large as the one actually in service at Alençon and Fresnay.¹³⁸

In general this arrangement lasted for two or three years and its modification at the end of that time was somewhat haphazard, probably according to the bargaining powers of the individual captains.¹³⁹ By the summer of 1434 there was sufficient uncertainty that an indenture of 16 May contained the vague proviso that the controller was to be paid like the other controllers in Normandy, which in this instance meant the higher rebate.¹⁴⁰ During the final quarter of the fiscal year 1433-34 some places were on one rate and some on the other,¹⁴¹ but when indentures were made in the fall of

¹³⁸ At the ordinary rate of pay this saving would provide for a retinue of nine men-at-arms and twenty-seven archers. Quittance of Jan. 14, 1433 n.s. shows that a *creue* of seven mounted lances and sixteen archers served at Alençon and Fresnay for the second quarter of 1432, and five lances and seventeen archers for the following quarter. Ordinarily these would have cost 921 l. 15 s. 8 d.t. for these two quarters. They were actually paid 868 l. 10 s. 10 d.t. and the residue held in abeyance until funds arrived from England. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 161, p. 4581, No. 10.

¹³⁹ The record as shown by individual quittances goes into the summer of 1434, but there are a few exceptions. At Exmes quittance for the quarter beginning July 8, 1433 (an unusual date, see below) shows rebate for the controller at the foot lance rate. *Ibid.*, 165, p. 4933, No. 26. Was this change made when Sir John Grey succeeded Thomas Burgh as captain? There is no record of the payments from Sept. 28, 1432 to July 8, 1433, but a controller's quittance for the period beginning Jan. 7, 1433 n.s. suggests, by that unusual date, that a change of command took place. *Ibid.*, 158, p. 4399, No. 106. At Essay and St. Lô quittances covering the first quarter of 1434 rebate the captains at the lower rate. *Ibid.*, 168, p. 5303, No. 84; fr. 26058, No. 2333. Does it signify anything that these captains were also baillis? At Bayeux a quittance covering the next quarter does the same. *Ibid.*, No. 2335.

¹⁴⁰ Talbot's indenture for Neufchâtel. *Ibid.*, P.O. 2787, Talbot, section 62000, No. 9. Quittance for service from Aug. 16-Sept. 28, 1434 shows the higher rebate. *Ibid.*, No. 12.

¹⁴¹ Rebate as mounted lance: Pont del Arche (*ibid.*, Clairambault 208,

1434 concession was made to the captains by a change indicating that the controller should be counted for pay as a foot lance.¹⁴² Even this, however, did not produce complete uniformity because at Tombelaine the lieutenant neglected to read the indenture until July 8, 1436, so the controller there was listed as a mounted lance, and the captain rebated accordingly until that date, when the controller was put in his proper place on the muster roll, and a foot lance promoted to the position of mounted man-at-arms thus vacated.¹⁴³ Whatever the rate of pay, however, the captain could not escape rebate by vacancy in the controller's office, because in such case the treasury withheld the wages of the man who should have been controller.¹⁴⁴

Willoughby, No. 11), Conches (*ibid.*, 201, p. 8413, No. 9), St. Germain (*ibid.*, 159, p. 4457, No. 60), Gaillard (*ibid.*, 140, p. 2659, No. 4; P.O. 247, Beaumont, section 5433, No. 12). Rebate as foot lance: Rouen castle (*ibid.*, 557, Burdet, section 12579, No. 10), Lisieux (*ibid.*, 262, Bedhugh, No. 2), Falaise (Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 34¹⁵). It may be evidence of this confusion that in the quittance of Aug. 9, 1434 for Arques the controller is alluded to as a foot lance but the rebate is the pay of a mounted lance. Bib. Nat., P.O. 2021, Montgomery, section 46306, No. 14.

¹⁴² Indentures for St. Lô, Oct. 20, 1434 and Oct. 29, 1435. *Ibid.*, fr. 26058, No. 2379; fr. 26060, No. 2660. At Evreux the old system continued until Oct. 31, 1434, because the new indenture did not go into effect until 1 November. *Ibid.*, Clairambault 200, p. 8401, No. 120. At Harfleur the controller was actually a mounted lance and was paid as such from March 29, 1435 n.s. until Michaelmas. He had been paid previously as a foot lance. *Ibid.*, 169, p. 5311, Nos. 10, 13; fr. 25772, Nos. 924, 934; P.O. 1487, Harpiffeld, section 33620, No. 3. The French recovered Harfleur in November 1435.

¹⁴³ Tombelaine *contrerolle*, June-Sept. 1436. *Ibid.*, fr. 25773, No. 1143. Quittance for the previous quarter, Dec. 3, 1436. *Ibid.*, fr. 26062, No. 3026. In the '40's some of the controllers again became mounted. Quittance for Argentan, Feb. 11, 1441. Bib. de Caen, MSS Mancel XXXV. Harington, section 18. For Vernon in 1445 see Bib. Nat., fr. 26060, No. 2797.

¹⁴⁴ In a quittance of Nov. 11, 1432 for Fresnay the sum of 35 l. 19 s.

The *contrerolles*, of which we have more than two hundred for the period under consideration, are an interesting collection of documents unique in the record of mediaeval armies. They vary in form from long rolls of several membranes two or three feet long and a foot wide for a place with a large garrison and a *creue* during a period of military activity,¹⁴⁵ to a mere letter of certification like the following:

A mes treschiers et treshonnourez seigneurs messires les tresoriers et generaulx gouverneurs de toutes les finances du Roy notres^r en Normendie Jehan Roteau escuier contreroulleur de la garnison de Dreux pour le Roy notredits^r honneur et Reverence avecques toute obeissance. Plaise vous savoir que jay veu et ay este present apasser les monstres et Reveues de dix lances et trente archiers a cheval tous anglois de la nacion dangleterre pour le moys dAvril derrenier passe iiiii^e xxxiiii et celui de Juing ensuivant iiiii^e xxxv. Et ont iceulx servy bien et deubment en ceste ville de Dreux pour les deux moys dessusdiz Sans avoir aucunement vacque ne

10 d.t. is "Rabatuz pour les gages et Regart de celui qui devoit estre contreroleur de la garnison dudit lieu de Fresnay ja soit cequil nen y ait point en durant ledit temps pour ceque le contreroleur dicelle garnison estoit trespasse et nen estoit point pourveu dautres oudit temps." Bib. Nat., P.O. 559, Burgh, section 12617, No. 4. A quittance of May 3, 1442 for Pontaudemer similarly records rebate of 8 l. 16 s. 8 d.t. "pour ce que les gaiges de ung desdiz archiers montent a icelle somme pour lesdiz liii jours Lequel comme lendit ne puet prendre gaiges soubz nous en la retenue dessusdite pour ce que en icelle retenue doit estre comprinse ung contrerolleur desdites gens qui doit demourer soubz le roy nostre sire non soubz nous et icellui contrerolleur ny a este ordonne ou temps desdiz liii jours." Arch. Nat., K 67, No. 12²⁵.

¹⁴⁵ Conches, March-June 1434. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 123; Arques, June-September 1434. *Ibid.* 6869. A *creue* was a company of soldiers added temporarily to a garrison, sometimes under its own captain and sometimes under the captain of the garrison. It was often used primarily for field service rather than for garrison service. Its temporary status was one of its chief characteristics. See below note 252.

sans avoir fait icelui temps durant aucuns gains de guerre qui soient venus a ma congnoissance. Et pour le moys de May derrenier passe iceulx dix lances et trente archiers dessusdiz furent au mandement de feu mon tresredoubte s^r mons^r le Conte d'Arondel cui dieux pardoint ou ilz servirent ledit moys durant. Et sont iceulx et chacun deulx deubment habilleez pour passer et estre Receuz a toutes monstres et Reveues ou il appartendra. Et ce mes treshonnourez seigneurs vous certiffie estre vray. Tesmoing mon seel d'armes et seing manuel cy mis le derrenier jour de Juing lan mil quatreceus trentecinq. ROUTEAU.¹⁴⁶

Each *contrerolle* normally covered a quarter year, but if, during the quarter, there was a change of captains a new roll was started.¹⁴⁷ This made it easier for the treasury

¹⁴⁶ Bib. Nat., fr. 26291, No. 391. There seems to have been something peculiar about the situation at Dreux under the captaincy of Sir Guillaume de Broullat (? October 1430-1437). There are five quittances and fifteen *contrerolles* for this period, but only three of these record any absences or gains of war justifying treasury rebates. This is very extraordinary when compared with the record from other places. Has this any connection with the apparent fact that the men-at-arms in this garrison did not receive the "regards accoustume"? They were paid at the rate of 10 l.t. a month (quittance, April 11, 1436. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 144, p. 3029, No. 13), which is equivalent to pay of one shilling sterling a day (the normal rate), but without consideration for the "regards" of one hundred marks a month for every thirty men-at-arms, which was practically 6d. sterling a day more for each man, and which made the normal pay for a man-at-arms 15 l.t. a month. An even simpler document than this is the report from Rouen of May 24, 1429. P. Le Cacheux, *Rouen au temps de Jeanne d'Arc* (Rouen, 1931), p. 15.

¹⁴⁷ St. Lô, Aug. 15-Sept. 29, 1432. Luce, II. 8. Argentan, June 28-Aug. 6, 1434, on which last date Sir John Montagu, bastard of Salisbury, turned the place over to his successor. Bib. Nat., fr. 25771, No. 888. Eu, Feb. 1-Mar. 29, 1436 n.s., Sir John Montgomery having left 31 January and Sir John Cressy having taken over. *Ibid.*, fr. 25772, No. 938. Caen, Sept. 29-Nov. 30, 1436, when Fastolf was captain; Dec. 1-31, 1436, when York was captain. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6903, 6905. Gaillard, Sept. 29-Dec. 5, 1436, when Talbot was discharged from this captaincy. Arch. de l'Eure, B 89, Chateau Gaillard.

to file conveniently the records necessary for paying each captain. The names of the captain and controller, the size of the garrison, the date of muster and the names of the commissioners of array, and the period covered by the *contrerolle* constituted the first body of information in each document. Frequently the whole garrison was listed as on a muster roll.¹⁴⁸ It is possible that where such list was not written into the record it was made separately and sent in with the *contrerolle*.¹⁴⁹ This would enable the treasury to make out the muster rolls in advance, and give them to the commissioners of array, but we cannot be sure that this was done. Possibly the controller or the captain's clerk prepared the muster roll each time for the commissioners, listing the men according to his roll of the garrison, which was also the basis for the list which he had sent in to the treasury with his *contrerolle*.¹⁵⁰ The latter, in any case, would

¹⁴⁸ Bib. Nat., fr. 25769, Nos. 448-449; fr. 26264, Nos. 218-219; fr. 26265, No. 115; fr. 26293, No. 463; Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 10³⁶; K 64, No. 14; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7964, 11846. At Pont del Arche where the *creue* was paid monthly (as indeed all *creues* were) the *contrerolle* for Dec. 20-Feb. 21, 1430 n.s. has two identical lists, one for each month. Bib. Nat., fr. 25769, No. 468.

¹⁴⁹ A Domfront *contrerolle* (Sept. 29-Dec. 28, 1434) has the sentence "Cy ensuivant les noms et sournoms desdits gens darmes et de trait tant a cheval comme a pie de la garnison ordinaire avec le crue conprins en ung roulle cy attechie." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 121.

¹⁵⁰ If the lists were not made in advance and given to the reviewing officers how did the latter, when reviewing the retinue of the bailli of the Cotentin, find a man who was really a foot lance listed as a mounted lance? Bib. Nat., Clairambault 142, p. 2905, No. 75. How otherwise explain that in successive muster rolls for the same garrison the names are in the same order? For Tombelaine there are muster rolls for Dec. 23, 1429 and Feb. 10, 1430 n.s. In these for the twenty-six lances all the names but two are the same and in the same order, the two new ones are at the end; the same is true of the eighty-one names of archers with one exception as to order. Brit. Mus.,

enable the treasury to check up on the muster rolls which came in from the commissioners, and this was certainly done.¹⁵¹

Add. Ch. 1438, 1439. See also three rolls for St. Lô in July, August and September 1437. *Ibid.* 6912, 6914, 6916.

¹⁵¹ Scrutiny of the garrison lists reflects itself in the quittances such as those of Nov. 11, 1433 for Alençon, one of which declares two archers ineligible for pay "Pourceque ledit du Boys fut varlet du grenetier d'Alençon denier trespasse et ledit Dannoy est hostellier audit lieu d'Alençon." The other declares five archers ineligible because they were "hosteliers et habitans" of Alençon. These quittances were for the third and first quarters of 1433. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 161, p. 4583, No. 11; Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 28^{ter}. That such items are related to the study of the *contrerolles* appears from the Caen *contrerolle* for September 1434 quoted below at note 165. On the Evreux muster roll for Feb. 28, 1430 n.s. the commissioners wrote at the bottom "ouquel nombre de gens darmes et de trait dessus desclairées sont comprins quatre lances et dixneuf archiers qui estoient pour le moys de fevrier de la retenue mons^r Jehan de Radcliff chlr naguere bailli et capp^{ne} dudit lieu d'Evreux. Et lesquelx nous commissaires dessus nommes certiffions avoir veuz et estre venus a gaiges avecqs ledit Mathew Goth (the new, incoming captain of Evreux) le mercredi premier jour de Mars comme plusaplain peut estre contenu ou contreroulle dudit lieu d'Evreux." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11655. If the treasury officials were watching the individual names they would have detected an appearance of fraud in the duplication of names in the out-going and incoming retinues. In 1431 the captain of Domfront complained "Il ne aeste pas nomme ou escript en icelles (monstres) par linadvertance, simpleste ou ignorance du clerck qui les escrui," with the result that the treasury refused him his pay until his declaration that he was present was certified by the controller and backed up by a special warrant. *Ibid.* 11719. For April 17, 1432 n.s. there is a certificate from those commissioned to muster the Argentan garrison for the last quarter of 1431 to the effect that Thomas Flechier, English archer, was properly arrayed according to his status, and was passed by them at the muster, and that any record to the contrary is inadvertent. This is also signed by the controller. Bib. Nat., fr. 26055, No. 1790. But this careful checking of the names could lead to the difficulty illustrated in a certificate from Lord Bouchier, governor-general of the Picard marches, naming certain men in a field force under his command, who had not been paid, "ayans nomms et surnoms semblables a autres pour lesquils avons Receu paiement comme dit est jasoit ce que se soient diverses personnes." March 1, 1442 n.s. Arch. Nat., K 67, No. 13.

It is quite clear that the *contrerolles* served as reports on the personnel of a garrison. The names of the men who were dismissed or who otherwise "vint aus guages," who were demoted or promoted, or who were transferred from the "garnison ordinaire" to the *creue*, or who were sick, or taken prisoner or dead, are carefully recorded, with dates and the names of all replacements. Some of these items give vivid glimpses of garrison life. At Fresnay, for instance, on June 3, 1436, eighteen archers (all named), "ont este mis hors de ladicte garnison par les lieutenant et marschal dudit lieu et croisy en Roulle des monstres de ce present quartier par lordonnance et oppinion du procureur et commissaires du Roy notres^r audit lieu et autres notables personnes ace appelez pour ce que par plusieurs foiz pendant ledit quartier ilz sont alez, venuz et Retournez a Villaine la Juhes pour converser avecques ceulx qui detiennent et occupent icelle place."¹⁵² The *contrerolle* for Vernueil for July-Oct. 1432 is merely a "Declaracion des gens darmes et de trait de la garnison de Vernueil venuz et entrez a gaiges audit lieu de Vernueil en lieu dautres," recording the names of two newmounted lances, one of whom is replacement for a man transferred to the *creue*, one foot lance who was promoted to be a mounted lance, five new foot lances, and six new archers. All these changes took place 11 July, the first day of the quarter.¹⁵³ State-

¹⁵² Bib. Nat., fr. 25773, No. 1096. Villaine-la-Juhel was held by the French. This was probably an unusual occasion, hence the participation of the local officials. The dangers of such fraternization as this in partisan warfare will be apparent.

¹⁵³ Bib. Nat., fr. 26268, No. 589 (July 11-Oct. 9, 1432). Probably this declaration was merely a report on personnel, separate from the *contrerolle* on absences and gains of war. We cannot tell because the quittance cover-

ments of such sort may well have been accompanied by certificates like the following:

Sachent tous aqui il appartient que Je Guillaume Harman escuyer et contreroleur ordene et establi par tres noble haut et puissant prince et mon tresRedoubte seigneur monseigneur le Regent le Royaulme de france duc de Bedford et seigneur de Mante a veoir et savoir sur le fait des souldoiers ordenes et chargies a la garde de la ville de Mante en la compaignie de feu Edward Makwilliam nagueres trespasse en son vivant bailli et cappitaine dudit Mante tesmoingne et certeffie que les personnes dont les noms et seurnoms sont cy dessoubz mis en une cedula de parchemin attache a cest present certefficate escript de ma maine et signe de mon signe manuel ont vacque et continuee a servir le Roy mon souverain s^r et mondit seigneur le duc en icelle ville de Mante comme souldoiers en la compaignie et soubz le dit feu Edward des le premier jour du moys de Janvier derrainierement passe jusques au xix^e jour de fevrier ensuiant excepts certains deffaux lesquels sont desclares plus a plain en mon contre Roule dudit temps. Tesmoing le seel de mes armes cy mis le lundy xii^e jour du mois d'Avril apres pasques lan mil iiiii^e xxviii.¹⁵⁴

It might also be desirable to have the commissioners of array, if they were resident in the garrison town, certify

ing this quarter also covers the preceding quarter, for which the *contrerolle* is lost, so that the record there of absences and gains cannot be checked. Bib. de Rouen, Collection Leber, No. 5692. For March 26, 1432 n.s. there is a certificate from the controller of Caen listing the names of thirty-six archers newly joined, and asserting that they had served during the quarter beginning March 30, 1431 "avant pasques" (i.e. 1432 n.s.), except as their absences were recorded in the *contrerolle*. Bib. Nat., fr. 25770, No. 692. The date shows that this was made before the quarter began, presumably when the men joined the garrison. The names of new recruits would have to be added to the muster roll when the garrison was enlarged. *Ibid.*, fr. 25772, No. 1043; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11929.

¹⁵⁴ Bib. Nat., Clairambault 169, p. 5311, No. 11.

to the mustering in of replacements in the following fashion:

Je Jehan le Sac Grenectier de Vernon certiffie a tous a qui il appartient Que par commission du Roy notreseigneur donne le xxi^e jour de Juillet derrenier passe je en la compaignie de Jehan Louvel lieutenant general de monseigneur le bailli de Gisors Receuz le xxiii^e jour dudit mois les monstres des gens darmes et de trait de la garnison de Vernon. Et le xvi^e jour d'Aoust ensuivant se presenterent Thomas Oare homme darmes acheval pour estre ou lieu de Basquin Saint Per qui dicelle garnison sestoit party, Guillaume Hannfford escuier pour estre Receu comme homme darmes apie en icelle garnison, Thomas Rowe archier. Et le xxiii^e jour dudit mois d'Aoust Jehan Congge archier se presenta semblablement. Et le vii^e jour de ce present mois de Septembre Jehan Belfeld archier se presenta pareillement, lesquelz furent Receuz arraiez suffisamment pour faire service en ladicte garnison. Et ce ay je tesmoingne a Richart Escot contreroleur dicelle garnison. Lesquelles choses je certiffie estre vrayes par ces presentes, signe de mon signe manuel le xx^e jour dudit mois de Septembre lan mil ~~ccc~~ trente et ung. J. SAC ¹⁵⁵

That this was an unusual proceeding appears from the necessity to issue a special order from the treasurer to Surreau, based upon and attached to the foregoing certificate, ordering payment for "Guillaume Hanneford homme darmes a pie et de trois archiers denommez en ladicte certificacion — non obstant — que lesdiz homme darmes apie et trois archiers ne soient contenuz en icelles monstres." ¹⁵⁶ Even when men left the garrison without being replaced, owing to orders of diminution,

¹⁵⁵ Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 13²⁵.

¹⁵⁶ Nov. 3, 1431. *Ibid.*, No. 13²⁹. It should be noted, however, that this warrant was not only for this affair but also covered another irregularity. See below note 196.

their names were all reported.¹⁵⁷ But when there was merely a change of captain it sufficed to record that he took over "et Retint les soudoiers de la dicte place pour demourer ala sauvegarde dicelle comme il appart par le Roulle des menstrez dudit moys."¹⁵⁸ Records of promotion and demotion might mean no more than a shift of names as far as the record was concerned. "Ledit vii^e jour de Juillet Jehan Hairon qui estoit lance acheval ou quartier precedent fut mis lance a pie et icellui jour mesmes Guillaume Celleby qui estoit lance a pie fut mis lance acheval ou lieu dudit Hairon."¹⁵⁹ But such items show that the treasury was watching the muster rolls and checking up on John and William, and presumably, without this report, would balk at paying mounted wages for William on the ground that, according to previous musters, he was a footman. Instance of this appears in the *contrerolle* for Falaise of September–December 1434, where the lieutenant, Sir Thomas Kingston, presented himself as replacement for a mounted lance, who had been demoted, but the treasury disallowed this on the ground that since Sir Thomas served and drew pay for the whole quarter he could not be replacement from 17 November, consequently thirty-nine days of absence for a mounted lance was

¹⁵⁷ Pont del Arche *contrerolle*, September–December 1434. Arch. de l'Eure, B 129.

¹⁵⁸ Tombelaine *contrerolle*, October–November 1429. Bib. Nat., fr. 25768, No. 436. This was probably an unusual occurrence.

¹⁵⁹ Exmes *contrerolle*, July–September 1434. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6870. Fresnay *contrerolle*, December–March 1436 n.s. calls attention to the fact that nine men who were archers the preceding quarter were promoted foot lances when the Council ordered an increased number of the latter, and nine new archers were recruited. Bib. Nat., fr. 25772, No. 1043.

recorded.¹⁶⁰ At Honfleur we learn that a man was shifted to the *creue* because he was “fort, jeune et habille pour aller sur les champs.”¹⁶¹ Again the careful watch on the muster rolls, and their check up from the data in the *contrerolles*, is shown by the notes written in on the muster roll of July 31, 1435 for Gisors, where the treasury clerk has noted against the name of one archer “execute xi dAoust” and against another “il na servi que viii jours.”¹⁶² Often the other categories of change could be covered with the statement “Mors, malades et prins prisonniers ny et nulz pour ce present quartier”; or there might be items to the effect that “Thomas Rodieu archier trespasa en son hostel au Neufchastel le xv^e jour de mois dAvril derrenier passe. Mathieu Hoint et Thomas Erton homme darmes furent mors a une courre qui fu en Vymeue le xviii^e jour dudit mois dAvril. — Ensuivent les noms de ceulx qui furent prins prisonniers a la dicte courre du xviii^e jour dAvril.”¹⁶³ If there was other information about any member of the garrison, which would affect his status, it was through the *contrerolle* that the treasury would learn of it, although

¹⁶⁰ Bib. Nat., fr. 25771, No. 902.

¹⁶¹ Honfleur *contrerolle*, September–December 1429. *Ibid.*, fr. 25768, No. 420.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, fr. 25772, No. 966. With regard to a muster on June 16, 1429 of one man-at-arms and thirty archers at St. Lô the treasury refused to pay the man-at-arms “Pource que par ledit lieutenant dudit lieu il estoit en son lieu commis lieutenant de ladite place que ne doit estre fait par Raison.” Surreau’s seventh account, *ibid.*, fr. 4488, p. 256. See also note 200 below.

¹⁶³ Caen *contrerolle*, December–March 1437 n.s. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6898; Neufchâtel *contrerolle*, April 1431. Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 10³⁶. For casualties and their replacement see Tombelaine *contrerolle*, April 1429 (Bib. Nat., fr. 25769, No. 489); for sickness see Falaise *contrerolle*, September–December 1428 (*ibid.*, No. 523).

the record might be accidental. When, for instance, the controller at Carentan reported the absence of Martin Lenfant, Norman archer, the eagle-eyed treasury clerk recorded "Neant de vacacion pour ce que lesdit Martin — ne prendre nulz gaiges pource que par lendenture de ladite garnison ne peut avoir en icelle que la viii^e partie dautre nacion que dAngleterre et sont les gaiges rabatus sur le compte."¹⁶⁴ Or when the Caen *contrerolle* (September 1434) records that Jean de Cheux, foot lance, left the garrison to become *cinquantenier* of the *gens du pays* of the seigneurie of Cheux the treasury's attention was called to his local status, and a marginal note records that he is a native, married, a householder and "bien heritie" at Caen, consequently he cannot draw pay or pass muster under the royal ordonnances and his pay since June is with-held.¹⁶⁵ On another occasion the controller at Conches himself reports that a certain archer in the garrison holds lands in the vicomté by gift from the king worth 10 l. t. a year.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Carentan *contrerolle*, July-September 1435. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1962. In this way the treasury saved the wages of an archer for an entire quarter.

¹⁶⁵ Bib. Nat., fr. 25771, No. 891.

¹⁶⁶ Conches *contrerolle*, February-March 1438 n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 25774, No. 1303. The muster roll for Conches of October 8, 1437 marks one mounted lance "il a don de terre." *Ibid.*, No. 1249. At this time soldiers holding lands had their wages curtailed accordingly. Quittance of March 13, 1438 n.s. for Bayeux mentions two foot lances who held lands "dont ilz pourroient soutenir leur estat pourquoy par ordonnance sur ce faicte ilz navront que demi gaiges." *Ibid.*, Clairambault 187, p. 6983, No. 10. Similarly quittances for St. Lô covering the last half of 1437 refer to "Jehan Blondel escuier normant et Richart de Conings angloiz lances a pie qui ne doivent prendre gaiges pource quilz ont terres et mene marchandise dont ilz peuvent bien avoir vescu pour ledit quartier sans prendre gaiges" (*ibid.*, 169, p. 5315, No. 18); and again two Norman nobles "lesquelz peuvent vivres de leurs Revenues et pource nauront aucuns gaiges." Arch. de la Manche, A. supplement 3883.

Often the position of a man in the garrison would be determined by his equipment and the *contrerolles* frequently record this. At Evreux on Nov. 30, 1436 "fut ordonne lance appie Robert Pouchaubien pour ce quil nestoit pas souffissanment monte ne arme," and at Meulan on July 8, 1435 four men previously listed as mounted "ne sont point departie dicelle garnison maiz pour ce que leurs chevalx sont mors par mortalite ilz ont este mis lances a pie et ont depuis tousiours servi."¹⁶⁷ Even a knight who was insufficiently mounted could be reduced,¹⁶⁸ or could be rebated half his pay.¹⁶⁹ But when the controller recorded that on Jan. 22, 1434 n.s. David Farendon, mounted lance in Meulan garrison, lost his horses "ala destrousse qui fu faite sur le convoy entre Franconville et St. Denis et incontinent acheta autres chevalx et se monstera devant moy monte arme suf-fissanment" on 7 February the treasury paid his wages in full.¹⁷⁰ The controller also played a part in protecting the government against fraudulent mustering such as that attempted by Thomas Houvy, mounted lance in the Rouen garrison. The *contrerolle* records that according to report Thomas had no horses during the entire quarter except on muster day when he was mounted on two horses which had been loaned him by Jennequin Dancastre to enable him to pass muster as a mounted

¹⁶⁷ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11929; Eg. Ch. 172.

¹⁶⁸ This happened to Sir Pierre Breton; Evreux *contrerolle*, September-December 1433. Bib. Nat., fr. 25771, No. 806.

¹⁶⁹ This happened to Sir William Driby, who was without horses from 10 November to the end of the quarter. The treasury rebated 44s. sterling on this. Harfleur *contrerolle*, October-December, 1441. *Ibid.*, fr. 25776, No. 1554.

¹⁷⁰ Meulan *contrerolle*, December-March 1434 n.s. *Ibid.*, fr. 25771, No. 840.

lance. Otherwise Thomas had served duly and done watch. The treasurer-general, Sir Simon Morhier, investigated the matter, and Dancastre took oath that these assertions about the horses were true. Sir Simon, however, ordered that no rebate be made.¹⁷¹ It would seem as if the controller, as an assistant to the commissioners of array, was regarded as the authority on the adequacy of equipment, when we note that on the occasion of a muster at Carentan taken in the controller's absence he adds a note to the roll that on his return he has reviewed and inspected the retinue, and that the men are duly equipped;¹⁷² or when we find in one of the *Mante contrerolles* the names of eight men-at-arms bracketed and marked "ses viii lances acheval nayont point hernoiz de jambes le jour de leur monstres."¹⁷³

For the most part, however, the *contrerolles* deal with those two phases of garrison activity which had a financial value for the government, namely "vacations" and gains of war. Of these only the first is related to the problem of military control. It was the business of the controller to report each and every absence, naming the men involved and giving the reason for the absence. Such quarterly reports provided a continuous account of the activities of each garrison, and references to previous *contrerolles* as well as to ones to come are common. It was not the controller's business to decide what ab-

¹⁷¹ Rouen *contrerolle*, December-March 1442 n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 25776, No. 1559.

¹⁷² March 22, 1439 n.s. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 193. See below note 224.

¹⁷³ *Mante contrerolle*, December-March 1441 n.s. Bib. de Rouen, MS Mart. 203. The treasury note reads "chacun vi l. est. pour viii xlviii l.t."

sences were in line of duty and what were not. The treasury officials performed that function. These, when the *contrerolle* came in, studied its items and passed judgement upon the reasons for absence. In the margin opposite each item they wrote the decision whether or not there should be any rebate on the pay, with the reason and the number of days. Then at the bottom they wrote a "summa" of the number of days' absence for each type of soldier, their value in English money according to the indentures, and the equivalent in *livres tournois*. Similar computations were made for the gains of war, and the document was then ready to be used as the basis for making out the captain's quittance for the quarter.¹⁷⁴ In the early years it was customary to copy the individual items of absence from the *contre-rolle* into the quittance,¹⁷⁵ but before the end of 1427 a regular form giving merely the total amount for absences and gains was developed, and became the standard during the following years.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ This description of treasury procedure is a matter of surmise. The notes on the margin and the *summae* on the *contrerolles* are in different and better handwriting, and different ink from the text. It is a uniform hand more like that of the treasury documents than that of the *contrerolles*. The earliest surviving *contrerolles* are two for the quarter March-June 1427 at Rouen and Gaillard. Bib. Nat., fr. 25768, No. 231; fr. 26050, No. 743. Note that the quittances referred to in the following note are all for quarters previous to these.

¹⁷⁵ There are the following quittances of this sort: Harfleur, April 6, 1426 n.s. (Bib. Nat., fr. 26049, No. 566); Rouen, April 26, 1427 n.s. (*ibid.* P.O. 3051, Willeby, section 67922, No. 3); Honfleur, May 3, 1427 (*ibid.*, fr. 26049, No. 715); Gaillard, May 5, 1427 (*ibid.*, Clairambault 140, p. 2693, No. 44); Rouen bridge, June 2, 1427 (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11575).

¹⁷⁶ An example of this form is published in Le Cacheux, *Rouen au temps de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 198. The earliest example which I have found is for Falaise, Sept. 2, 1427. Arch. du Calvados, F Danquin 2.

Many of the reports on absence relate to contingents from the garrison called into the field for active service. In most such cases the men would be paid during such service directly by treasury officials. The treasury would thus have the record of such payments and proper deductions would be made when the captain came for his accounting.¹⁷⁷ Such deductions were not made on the basis of the controller's record. The latter served merely as an additional check-up on the soldiers. When, for instance, the controller reports a company from Argentan absent for a certain period, serving under Lord Willoughby at the siege of St. Célerin, the treasury note reads "Neant cy Rabatu et sur le compte lui sera Rabatu ce quil a Receu en larmee de mons^r de Willughby." ¹⁷⁸ In any case the *contrerolle* made it possible for the authorities to follow events closely, and to with-hold pay in such cases as that of the four men from Caen who, according to the *contrerolle*, left to join Arundel's army, and did not return to Caen by the end of the quarter. Yet the muster rolls of the army in the field showed them absent after the first month. Until this could be looked into, and the controller could certify as to these men and their activities, the treasury refused to pay their wages.¹⁷⁹ On another occasion the *contre-*

¹⁷⁷ Before there were any controllers the treasury, through the commissioners of array for an army, could check-up on contingents which failed to follow orders to join forces in the field, and could with-hold wages accordingly. Surreau's account (1423-24), Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, pp. 141-142, 198, 266, 270.

¹⁷⁸ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6853, also 110, 123. Falaise *contrerolle* for September-December 1428 records a contingent leaving 8 November for the siege of Orleans with the treasury comment on the margin "Ilz ont este paieez pour le fait dudit siege et sera rabatu sur le compte." *Ibid.* 523.

¹⁷⁹ Quittance, Aug. 22, 1434. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 158, p. 4329, No. 21.

rolle for Mante showed that the *creue*, which had been ordered for fifteen days, never mustered, so the wages which, as was customary in such circumstances, had been paid in advance were charged against the captain's regular account.¹⁸⁰ When no payment was made in the field again the treasury, from its own records, would know, and would decide what activities should be paid for, and what should not. When the *contrerolle* for St. Lô reported that the captain led part of the garrison out to repulse the Duc d'Alençon, who was said to be at Laigle, the treasury noted "Neant de vacacion car ilz estoient ou service du Roy et pour le bien du pays."¹⁸¹ In like fashion when the captain of Gaillard was reported "ad Rone envers domino nostro Regente par preceptum domini" note was made to the effect that "Il ne sera point rabatu car il estoit avec monseigneur le Regent et servoit audit lieu de Rouen," but the two soldiers who went with him "par preceptum dicti capitani" were charged with absences by the careful treasury.¹⁸² In such cases the controller might enclose a copy of the Regent's order, which had been responsible for the absence.¹⁸³ If the same individual held more than one captaincy, as often happened, the *contrerolles* would help to remind the treasury, and the clerk would note against Sir Nicholas Burdet's absence from Carentan

¹⁸⁰ Quittance, Oct. 21, 1431. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 166, p. 5049, No. 36.

¹⁸¹ Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 197. In publishing this Luce (II. 8-9) omitted the marginal notes of the treasury clerk.

¹⁸² Gaillard *contrerolle*, June-September 1428. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 108.

¹⁸³ Rouen *contrerolle*, December-March 1430 n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 25769, No. 445.

that he mustered and received pay in the garrison at Rouen castle.¹⁸⁴

Certain forms of activity away from the garrison were not only legitimate but were required under the indentures. Local operations against enemy raiders might be necessary, such as that recorded at Lisieux about a man-at-arms and five archers who "partirent le xviii^e jour d'Aust (1435) pour aler a Rouen au mandement du bailiff et revindrent le xxiv^e jour dudit mois dont les noms ensuient." On this item the comment was "Les dites lances et archers furent mandes venir au dit lieu de Rouen avec autres de plusieurs garnisons pour aler avec mondit s^r le bailly a lencontre de la Hire et autres ennemis que len disoit lors avoir entencion de courir le pays de Caux et pour ce neant de vacacion."¹⁸⁵ When soldiers went out "par le commandement de leutenant dudit lieu pour estre sur lez Brygans frequents en pais," or to effect the arrest of one suspected of harboring brigands no deductions were made.¹⁸⁶ Escort service was also recognized.¹⁸⁷ At a late date, when the struggle in Caux had become very difficult, no rebates were made against a man-at-arms from Harfleur, who went off on his adventures, and brought back one of the Dieppe garrison as prisoner, nor against three others who were "aleur avanture sur la mer," such activity being regarded as directed against the enemy and for

¹⁸⁴ Carentan *contrerolle*, July–September 1435. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1462.

¹⁸⁵ Arch. Nat., K 64, No. 1¹⁴.

¹⁸⁶ Bayeux *contrerolles*, January–March and April–June 1434. Arch. du Calvados, F Danquin 54 and Bib. Nat., fr. 25771, No. 839: St. Lô *contrerolle*, March–June, 1429. *Ibid.*, fr. 25768, No. 404.

¹⁸⁷ Caen *contrerolle*, December–March 1436 n.s. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7977.

the defense of Harfleur.¹⁸⁸ Some consideration was given to wounded and prisoners. According to one *contrerolle* "Geffray Vrecnoc archier fut malade par blessure troys sepmaines entiers ou moys de Mars" (1430), on which entry the treasury note is "Neant Rabatu considere il fut blecie ou service du Roy."¹⁸⁹ At Evreux a foot lance was captured and held prisoner for a week, but the treasury recorded "Neant Rabatu considere quil fut prins pour le fait du Roy et Remit au bout du mois."¹⁹⁰ In the similar case of an archer at Fresnay the comment was "Actendu le petit temps qui a este prisonnier ne luy sera Riens Rabatu."¹⁹¹ But when the captain of Conches was captured at Gerberoy, and held prisoner for a long time, full quota of absences was charged against him, and against the men sent to act as hostages for him.¹⁹²

Necessary business of certain sorts was also recognized as legitimate occasion for absence. A man from Domfront doing escort duty was permitted to remain two days at Caen for repairs to his "harnois."¹⁹³ No rebate was made against men sent from Bayeux "pour querir pluisors provesions pour le dict chastel,"¹⁹⁴ but

¹⁸⁸ Harfleur *contrerolle*, October-December 1441. Bib. Nat., fr. 25776, No. 1554.

¹⁸⁹ Domfront *contrerolle*, December-March, 1430 n.s. *Ibid.*, fr. 25769, No. 449.

¹⁹⁰ Evreux *contrerolle*, January-February 1430, n.s. *Ibid.*, No. 462.

¹⁹¹ Fresnay *contrerolle*, March-June 1433. *Ibid.*, fr. 25771, No. 780.

¹⁹² Conches *contrerolle*, July-October 1435. *Ibid.*, fr. 26293, No. 463; fr. 26265, No. 115.

¹⁹³ Domfront *contrerolle*, September-December 1434. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 121.

¹⁹⁴ Bayeux *contrerolle*, January-March 1434 n.s. Arch. du Calvados, F Danquin 54.

this recognition of foraging may have been peculiar to the situation existing at the moment. The absence of the lieutenant of Pont del Arche "pour aller a Rouen pourchacier artillere et autres abillemens du guerre pour la suertie et sauvegarde dicille place" was endorsed "Neant de vacacion pour ce quil vint en ceste ville de Rouen pour la preserver et bien de ladit place (de Pont del Arche)." ¹⁹⁵ But this too may very possibly be due to the peculiar state of affairs in the summer of 1435. A common occasion for absence was "pour la poursuite des gauges de ladicte garnison," an excuse which the treasury accepted provided that during the period of absence the account between the captain and the treasury was settled. ¹⁹⁶ Even then, however, only one man's absence would be tolerated. ¹⁹⁷ Perhaps there

¹⁹⁵ Pont del Arche *contrerolle*, April-June 1435. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7979

¹⁹⁶ Alençon *contrerolle*, December-March 1434 n.s. The comment is "Neant — attendu que en ce temps le compte precedent fut fait." Bib. Nat., fr. 25771, Nos. 831, 843; see also Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7972, 7976. In the Caen *contrerolle*, December-March 1436 n.s. the item "Jehan trompecte parti pour aller a Rouen porter lettres et autres escriptures pour faire le compte des gaiges des souldiers devers les tresorier et Receveur generalx le xxv^e jour de Janvier et retourna le second jour de Mars (sic) ensuit" was marked "on ne compta point pour le garnison en ce temps pour ce vacation viii (sic) jours." *Ibid.* 7977. Presumably this had to do with the accounting for the previous quarter (September-December 1435), which was not done until April 23, 1436 n.s. *Ibid.* 1153. It should be noted that in November 1431 it was necessary to issue a special warrant for paying the controller of Vernon and one of the mounted men-at-arms for the summer quarter "Non obstant que lesdictes monstres contiennent comme vray est que lesdiz contreroleur et Swynford feussent au jour que lesdictes monstres furent Receues en ceste ville de Rouen pour la poursuite des gages et payement de ladicte garnison." This order may have set the precedent. Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 132^o.

¹⁹⁷ Carentan *contrerolle*, October-December 1434. The lieutenant's absence was approved but not that of the foot lance who accompanied him. Bib. Nat., fr. 25772, No. 926.

was an appeal to the sporting instincts of the treasury clerks in the Alençon controller's record that one man-at-arms was absent from 30 June until July 4, 1434 "estant au Mans pour aller voir combatre ung angloiz et ung arminac,"¹⁹⁸ but if so it was futile. Probably it is merely evidence of careful recording that an Evreux *contrerolle* reads "Le xvi^e jour de fevrier (1434 n.s.) fut mis en prison a Evreux Richard Aynsworth pour certaine noise par lui faite avecques ung de ses compaignons et en fut mis hors le xxvii jour dudit mois de fevrier pendant lequel temps les monstres furent prinses et ne fut point pointie pour son absence." From the treasury point of view none of this mattered inasmuch as this soldier, being absent from the muster, was not entitled to any pay for that quarter.¹⁹⁹ This would also apply to the services of men who were crossed on the muster roll to indicate their failure to pass muster.²⁰⁰ No doubt, like zealous treasury officials in all ages, whichever record, *contrerolle* or muster roll, offered the best excuse for

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, fr. 25771, No. 903. For references on such combats at Le Mans see Triger, *Sainte-Suzanne* (Le Mans, 1907), pp. 17-18 and *Le Jouvencel*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1887), I. p. xxxviii.

¹⁹⁹ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6867.

²⁰⁰ Evreux *contrerolle*, January-February 1430 n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 25769, No. 462. An absentee on the Rouen *contrerolle* (Aug. 24-Nov. 18, 1432) is marked "Neant Rabatu car il nest point compte ne autre en son lieu." Henry Noville, archer, who is marked as replacement for Henry Key, is marked "ledit Noville est croise en monstre et non compte pour ce neant Rabatue." Beside the item that Thomas Esgar, archer, departed 30 September is the comment "Il y a on aux monstres du chastel ii archers ou lieu desdit thomas esgar. ii thomas y ont point servy et sont comptez pour ce vacacion chacun l jours sont C jours." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11785. This shows how the treasury, eager to effect rebates, checked the individual names. The muster roll for Rouen castle of Aug. 16, 1432 is published in Le Cacheux, *Rouen au temps de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 243-244.

saving was utilized. The Vernon *contrerolle* (Dec.-Mar. 1433 n.s.) reports that one of the foot lances departed on 30 January, having explained to the commissioners of array at muster on the previous day that it was very necessary that he return to England. The controller reports that he served loyally until that date but the treasury note is "Neant Rabatue pour cequil est Roie es monstres et non compte."²⁰¹ An experienced captain, who saw that men of his retinue "nont pas este allowez ne piquez" at muster, despite assurances from the controller to the commissioners that they were absent under order from the Regent, would take the precaution before the quarter ended to get a special warrant directing the treasury to pay in accordance with the controller's certificate.²⁰² When the controller himself got into

²⁰¹ Bib. Nat., fr. 25770, No. 764. It would appear that this man was penalized for his outspoken honesty. Had he kept still he would have been passed by the commissioners and not marked off the list. Who was the loser, the soldier or the captain? If the latter had paid this man for a month's service when he departed for England, he would find when he came to make account with the treasury, that no wages would be allowed. Quittance for Vernon (April 16, 1432 n.s.) shows rebate of the wages of four archers, who mustered on Oct. 16, 1431, but who stayed only until 29 October, and were not recorded in the *contrerolle*. *Ibid.*, P.O. 2725, Stafford, section 60831, No. 3. There is another instance where several of the Lisieux garrison left early in the quarter, on which the treasury noted that, by reason of their short service, they were not to be counted at all for service. *Contrerolle*, June-September 1438. *Ibid.*, fr. 25775, No. 1366.

²⁰² Warrant of June 14, 1429 issued at the request of Richard Woodville, captain of Caen, with regard to John Brinkeley, lieutenant of Caen, and an archer who missed muster on May 16, 1429, because they were at Rouen in charge of those held hostage for the Duc d'Alençon's ransom. *Ibid.*, fr. 26052, No. 1107; see also fr. 4488, p. 264. See also warrant of May 15, 1430 in favor of Sir Andrew Ogard, captain of Vire, ordering payment for a long period of absence "au pris et par la maniere accoustume et tout selon la certification dudit contreroleur." *Ibid.*, fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 89: see also *contrerolle*, *ibid.*, fr. 25769, No. 580.

difficulties by being absent from muster the certificate necessary to set things right for him came from the bailli who took the review of the garrison.²⁰³

There were occasions, however, when the treasury was ready to permit rectifications of error. The lieutenant's affirmation sufficed in one instance to eliminate a record in the *contrerolle* of delay in making replacements at Pont del Arche.²⁰⁴ And there is a special certificate from the controller at Tombelaine assuring the treasury that Thomas Chisenall, the new lieutenant, with ten archers (all named) arrived on April 1, 1432 and served throughout the month "non obstant que par inadvertance par mon contrerolle fait pour ledit

²⁰³ This is a warrant (March 23, 1430 n.s.) from the treasurer to Surreau, from which it appears that the controller's petition had not gone to the Regent, but had been kept within the treasury administration. It reads: "Comme Nicholas Francoys escuier contreroulleur de la garnison de Saint Lo nous ait expose que pour aucune ses affaires il ne deux archiers de sa compaignie nont peu estre presentz en leurs personnes au dit lieu de Saint Lo le viii^e jour de Decembre derrain passe en quel jour messire Edward Wynne chlr cap^{ne} dudit lieu de St. Lo fist ses premiers monstres. Combien que bien tost apres ledit viii jour de Decembre il et ses ditz deux archiers on continuellement residez et servez en la dite garnison comme il nous a este certifie par messire Jehan Harpilley chlr bailly de Constantin par le revue que il print de la dite garnison le xix^e jour dudit mois de Decembre"; order was given to pay the controller two thirds of his wages for this quarter, and to pay the two archers "pour ledit quartier entier quil a afferme en notre main avoir servi continuellement a la sauvegarde de la dite place." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1114. But in a similar case the controller of Argentan got a royal letter of relief of the usual sort (Feb. 18, 1437 n.s.). Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 139. A certificate of March 19, 1429 n.s. from the commissioners, who mustered the Rouen garrison Sept. 29, 1428, explained that they had forgotten the controller but that he had been present. Probably the latter had been refused his pay because of this error and had procured this document in consequence. He was paid four days later. It must have been an advantage to be located in Rouen. *Ibid.*, fr. 4488, p. 278.

²⁰⁴ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7979.

moys Je ne face aucune mencion deulx obstant leur bon service.”²⁰⁵ In this case the treasurer-general, after examining the muster rolls, the *contrerolle* and the certificate, gave the necessary order to pay wages.²⁰⁶ There is also a certificate from the Earl of Stafford, captain of Vernon, addressed to whom it may concern and asserting that that two named soldiers “ont este devers nous en la ville de Rouen pour certaines affaires touchant lagarde et seurte deladicte ville,” with the result that one of the commissioners of array reviewed the garrison and marked them present.²⁰⁷ Evidently the certificate was then sent with the amended muster roll to the treasury, but there is nothing to show whether or not it was satisfactory. That the captain could challenge the charges made against his account on the basis of the *contrerolle* and require further investigation appears from a quittance which refers to part of the wages “qui sont tenuz en suspens et demorez en la main dudit Receveur jusques ace que pluseurs parties de vacacions contenues oudit contrerole qui sont troubles soient a plain declarees et que la verite en soit sceue par le contreroleur de la garnison dudit lieu de Mante ou autrement comme il appartient pour le droit du Roy et de nous.”²⁰⁸ It was also possible to appeal from treasury action to the highest authority and to be relieved from the rebates based on the *contrerolle*.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ May 25, 1432. Bib. Nat., P.O. 2098, Nesselde, section 47828, No. 3.

²⁰⁶ June 6, 1432. *Ibid.*, 2727, Stanlawe, section 60870, No. 5.

²⁰⁷ Oct. 18, 1431. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11739. Muster was 16 October, review 29 October. *Ibid.* 11740. See above note 151 certificate of April 17, 1432. Bib. Nat., fr. 26055, No. 1790.

²⁰⁸ April 27, 1430. *Ibid.*, P.O. 1473, Hanford, section 33404, No. 3.

²⁰⁹ March 2, 1438 n.s., royal letter to the treasurers with respect to the

Ordinarily the larger part of the record in the *contre-rolles* consists of items to the effect that "William Martin archer a vague depuis le iiij^e jour de janvier jusques au viii^e jour dicellui mois cccc xxviii,"²¹⁰ or "Guillaume Mortemer lance a pie parti hors de la dicte garnison le v^e jour de May et vint en son lieu Robert Quilinghourde le vii^e jour du dit moys de May."²¹¹ Upon these days of absence or these intervals before replacement was effected most of the treasury saving rested. Unless the controller reported explicitly on these the work of the treasury would be delayed. In such case the controller's wages could be suspended until he sent in a report like the following from Thomas Warde, controller at Vire. "A mes treshonnouress^{rs} messeigneurs les tresorier et Recepveurs generaulx de Normendie plaise vous savoir que il est venu a ma congnoissance que vous aves empeschie mes gaiges pour la cause que je vous ay certiffie les noms de plusieurs engloiz lesquelx mesurent presentes a gaiges Et nay pas certiffie le jour que ilz mesurent presentes. Et pour ce je vous certiffie que ilz mesurent presentes le xxx^e jour de Juing pour un quartier dan commenchant ilcelluy jour et fenissant le xxviii^e jour de Septembre lan mil iiij^e xxxiii."²¹²

To answer the question how successful was the at-

absence for over a month of the captain of St. Lô with two archers engaged in official business at Rouen, and to the absence of an escort from St. Lô to Caen for two days as recorded in the *contrerolle*, directs that all rebates based on this be cancelled because the captain had only two archers with him and because of "la petite vacacion" of the escort. Bib. Nat., fr. 26064, No. 3423.

²¹⁰ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 110.

²¹¹ Arch. Nat., K 64, No. 17.

²¹² Feb. 18, 1434 n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 25770, No. 725.

tempt to supervise the goings and comings of the garrison soldiery and to effect savings on the wages of absentees requires the compilation of some statistics. For this purpose we possess Surreau's seventh account, which covers one complete fiscal year (1428-29). In addition, for the years under consideration, we have three hundred and forty quittances and two hundred and twenty *contrerolles*. In most cases each of the latter gives the record of one retinue for one quarter.²¹³ But in Surreau's account there are twenty-one garrisons, which are either on a flat rate or are without controllers, and only nineteen "controlled" garrisons. If we may assume Surreau's account to be a rough standard we may consider forty garrisons each with four quarterly payments, or one hundred and sixty retinue quarters, as the equivalent of a fiscal year. In such case our five hundred and sixty quittances and *contrerolles* will equal about three and one half fiscal years and, with Surreau, will be equivalent to 25 per cent of the whole record for the period under consideration. This should suffice for reasonable generalization. Surreau records payment to the nineteen "controlled" garrisons of 62,015 l. t. and savings based on the absences in the *contrerolles* of

²¹³ These figures ignore the four quittances and sixteen *contrerolles* from Dreux, where the situation seems to have been peculiar (see above note 146). In the thirty-two cases where quittances and *contrerolles* cover the same period only the latter are counted. The six quittances and ten *contrerolles* for the period covered by Surreau's account are not included; neither are the nine mutilated *contrerolles*, nor the ten *contrerolles* which are without treasury summary, because they cannot be used in an attempt to estimate the sums saved by the treasury. A few of the quittances and *contrerolles* are for periods less than a quarter and no consideration of this fact has been given because it did not seem to have any serious relation to the question of the percentage of saving which was effected.

1646 l. t. or about 2.6 per cent.²¹⁴ The five hundred and sixty quittances and *contrerolles* represent payment to the extent of 939,577 l. t. and savings of 26,203 l. t. or 2.5 per cent.²¹⁵ This is a striking agreement and may presumably be regarded as the measure of saving effected. Translated into something practical the actual sum saved in 1428-29 would about pay for a bailli's retinue for three quarters of a year, but that sum resulted from the control of only half the garrisons. By 1430, when the system of control was generally applied, the saving ought to have been doubled.

In returning to consideration of the administration of musters and reviews, we recall that reference has already been made to the developments of 1426, which might be regarded as the beginning of civilian control over the business of mustering.²¹⁶ In this connection it is appropriate to observe who issued the commissions of array and who took the musters. For the period under consideration, something over fifteen years (1426-1442), there are available for study two hundred and five commissions of array, supplemented by thirty-nine muster rolls which mention the source of the commission under which the muster was made.²¹⁷ This is not a very large proportion of the number of commissions, which must

²¹⁴ Bib. Nat., fr. 4488 *passim*. The shillings and pence are omitted.

²¹⁵ This is based on a tabulation of all these documents. In the majority of cases the actual record of payment was available, but in some instances the probable amount had to be estimated from the numbers given in the muster roll of nearest date or from the indenture, so there is an element of approximation in the total payment.

²¹⁶ See above notes 103 and 104.

²¹⁷ The information from all these documents has been tabulated in considerable detail in preparing this study.

have been issued during that period. Of this total of two hundred and forty-four commissions, surviving or mentioned, one hundred and sixty-seven are issued by the officials of the treasury and the rest by the Regent, the Council, the seneschal, or directly in the king's name. This is a proportion of more than two to one in favor of the treasury. When we examine the non-treasury commissions more closely other facts appear. Twenty-six of these seventy-seven are issued in the King's name during the period in 1430-1432 when Henry VI was in France and when presumably all acts of government would be carried on in his name, particularly when the English were doing all things possible to emphasize his kingship.²¹⁸ But even at that, half of these twenty-six commissions refer to special mustering orders of a peculiar sort, apart from the regular system, which will be discussed later. Similar special orders of like sort were issued in 1436, 1438 and 1441, and these last account for eighteen more of the non-treasury commissions. This leaves a group of documents for the ordinary routine of garrison mustering in which the proportion emanating from the treasury is from four to five times that from other official sources. For the later part of the period it might be argued that, aside from the extraordinary occasions, the treasury had complete control over mustering, but the record is very fragmentary.

The Regent, of course, was the source of all authority

²¹⁸ It is interesting to note that the record of treasury commissions in this period is mostly concentrated in the spring of 1431 in what looks like an interval between two large groups of royal commissions. For the special mustering orders see below notes 264 ff., 295 ff., 328.

and the treasury officials acted as his deputies, so it is really a question of how completely the direction and supervision of mustering was left to them. They describe themselves on various occasions as commissioners of the Regent, "commissaires de Roy notredits et de mons^r le Regent," "commissaires generaulx ordonnez a receveur les monstres dudit pays de Normandie," or "commissaire general du Roy."²¹⁹ This may be regarded as continuing or reviving the practices of Henry V in 1419 and 1420 with respect to William Alington, the treasurer-general, but without the concurrent activities of a seneschal.²²⁰ Bedford himself continued to issue commissions of array even when he was in England, and may have been more disposed than his successors to exercise this authority directly.²²¹ It may be significant that the format of the Regent's commissions is a continuation of that used by Henry V and the early seneschals. The language is Latin and the commission-

²¹⁹ As early as November 1425 the chief treasury officials were taking musters in person: Nov. 22, 1425, Rouen (Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 18¹⁹); Jan. 10, 1426, Mante (*ibid.* No. 18²²); Feb. 13, Rouen (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1424); Feb. 17, Bayeux (Arch. du Calvados, F Danquin 2); Mar. 9, Essay (Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 18²⁶); May 20, Rouen (*ibid.* Nos. 25⁴ 5). The earliest commission from these officials is of Aug. 20, 1426 (*ibid.* No. 25⁹). For others during 1427-28 see Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 172, 1100; Bib. Nat., fr. 26050, No. 800; fr. 4488, pp. 284, 287, 290. In 1429 Sir John Radcliff was "commissaire general du Roy" (*ibid.*, p. 285), but this may have been a phase of his functions as "lieutenant sur le fait de la guerre es marches de Lisieux et d'Evreux" (*ibid.*, fr. 26052, No. 1188).

²²⁰ See above pp. 5-11.

²²¹ Muster at Vire Sept. 17, 1434 was made under commission from London of Dec. 10, 1433. Bib. Nat., fr. 25771, No. 892. Bedford was then in London. Of the thirty-three ordinary non-treasury commissions twenty-seven are from Bedford's time (1426-1435). This may be an accident of documentary survival.

ers are specially directed to exact an oath from the captain as to his retinue.²²² The commissions from the treasury officials are in French, like most other official documents, without mention of any oath. They deputize the individuals to whom they are addressed (usually two) to act for the treasury officials,²²³ and they include

²²² Examples of Oldhall's commissions: July 24, 1425 (Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 18⁸); Nov. 16, 1425 (Bib. Nat., P.O. 2138, Oldhall, section 48630, No. 2): a commission from Bedford dated Oct. 24, 1425 (Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 18¹³); an example of this form is published in Le Cacheux, *Rouen au temps de Jeanne d'Arc*, p. 150-151. There are a very few commissions from Bedford in French, but with text similar to those in Latin. Bib. Nat., fr. 26051, No. 1071; fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 79. A royal commission in French (Feb. 7, 1427 n.s.) has a unique format. *Ibid.*, fr. 26049, No. 681. For references to documents of the crisis of 1429 and the special musters of 1430 and 1431 see below notes 249, 264, 271. The latest example of the Latin type is of March 14, 1433 n.s. *Ibid.*, fr. 26056, No. 2027. Under Henry V Latin was used in most of the documents of Norman administration. It was also characteristic of the administration in England. Would it be in Bedford's household that similar practice would persist?

²²³ The earliest surviving commission (Aug. 20, 1426) was issued by Belknap, treasurer-general, and Surreau, receiver-general (Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 25⁹), and others for 1426 and 1427 are like it (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 172, 6825, 1091; Bib. Nat., fr. 26049, No. 666). There is one of July 9, 1427 from Surreau and John Chamberlain, "contreroleur dicelle Recepte generale" (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1094). The earliest one in the name of all three officials is Nov. 17, 1427 (Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 38⁴). When Belknap died Jan. 4, 1429 n.s. (Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, p. 224), Surreau and Chamberlain issued commissions (Jan. 26, 1429 n.s., Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 3638); when Chamberlain was captured (Aug. 14, 1429, Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, p. 660), the name of Robert Rotsey, who succeeded him (Sept. 5, 1429, *ibid.*, p. 225), appears with Surreau's on the commissions (Oct. 8, 1429, Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 360). About this time, however, the name of the controller-general is dropped and commissions are issued by the treasurer-general and the receiver-general (Nov. 30, 1429, Bib. Nat., fr. 26052, No. 1199; Jan. 7, 1430 n.s., Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 366). While it may be that general commissions to muster had to be issued to each of these treasury officials under which they then commissioned deputies, it is clear that in practice the exercise of the power to muster is becoming a regular feature of their official position.

a clause directing these deputies to join to themselves the garrison controller in taking the muster, thus emphasizing the latter's position as a treasury official.²²⁴

²²⁴ The earliest commission with this clause ("Appelle toutesvoyes a ce faire avec vous le contreroleur de la garnison dudit saint lo") is one for St. Lô dated May 25, 1429. Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 7. That this approximately dates this innovation in the commissions appears from the fact that the preceding commission for St. Lô (Jan. 30, 1429 n.s.) does not include it, although there had been a controller there since October 1428 (Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, p. 180), instead the controller of the garrison at Coutances is named one of the commissioners of array (*ibid.*, fr. 26051, No. 1031). But the practice of using the controller goes back into the preceding year. The controller at Essay, for instance, signs the muster roll of June 26, 1428, although the two commissioners do not, and does so again with one of the commissioners on Sept. 27, 1428. Arch. Nat., K 63, Nos. 14, 18. The treasury commission of array for Essay of May 26, 1428, under which the muster of 26 June was taken, makes no mention of the controller (*ibid.*, No. 13), nor do other commissions in 1428 for other places (Bib. Nat., P.O., 1487, Harpeley, section 33617, No. 13; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11587; Arch. de l'Eure, B 96). The following is typical of the treasury format. "Pierre Surreau Receveur general de Normandie et Robert Rotsey contreroulleur dicelle recepte generale commisaires du Roy notre s^r et de monseigneur le Regent le Roy^{me} de France duc de Bedford en ceste partie a Thomas de Clamorgan viconte de Coustances et Vigor de Saint Guabriel viconte d'Avranches salut. Pource que presentement sommes occupez en certains grans affaires touchans le Roy notre dit s^r et monditseigneur le Regent par quoy vacquez ne entendre ne povons de present a aler es parties d'Avranches pour illec prendre et recevoir les monstres de Thomas Bourg escuier cap^{ne} dudit lieu d'Avranches et des gens de sa retenue ordonnies ou a ordonner estre audit lieu, nous vous avons commis et commictons par ces presentes a icelles monstres prandre et recevoir pour et ou lieu de nous pour trois mois commencans le premier jour dece present mois d'Octobre. Et vous avons donne et par ces presentes donnons par vertu du pouvoir anous donne en ceste partie pouvoir puissance et auctorite appelle avec vous ad ce faire le contrerouller de la dit garnison. Sy donnons en mandement aus diz cap^{ne} et gens de sedit retenue que en toutes choses touchant ceste presente commission a vous obeissent et entendent diligement comme en tel cas est acoustume de faire en nous certiffiant deurement de mois en mois dudit yeulx trois mois soubz vos signes et sainges manuelz des noms et surnoms des dites gens de la maniere de leurs habillemens et de quelz harnois ils soient deffaillans saucuns en y a comme en tel cas est acous-

Later, presumably as an aid to the vigilance of the commissioners, the commissions specify how many men according to the indenture should be in the retinue, and how many of them should be mounted.²²⁵ When first muster showed a retinue smaller than that specified, the captain could be urged to diligence in recruiting his company to full strength, so that it could be reviewed by the commissioners and arrangements made for paying wages.²²⁶ It may be questioned to what extent there was the conscious and deliberate development of civilian control, such as might be a feature of modern policy. But the fact that financial considerations were very important in the field of military administration, which was itself in many respects a financial matter, tended logically to put more and more control into the hands of the financial officials. By 1430 that control was so well established that Suffolk's commission as royal lieutenant in the bailliages of Caen and Cotentin conferred no power to muster and the companies under his command were mustered under commissions from the treasurer and receiver-general.²²⁷ It is suggested

tume. Donne soubz noz signetz le huit^{me} jour d'Ottobre lan mil cccc vint neuf. Lapreuse." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 360.

²²⁵ The earliest commission specifying numbers is dated Aug. 9, 1428. Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 1^e. See also for Nov. 26, 1428 (Arch. de l'Eure, B 96) and Jan. 26, 1429 n.s. (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 3638). These three happen to be bailli's retinues, but I see no reason to think this significant. The commission for Avranches, quoted in the preceding note, does not specify numbers but no numbers could be specified at that date because the crisis of 1429 had delayed the making of the usual September indentures.

²²⁶ There are royal letters (Nov. 29, 1430) on this matter addressed to Sir John Harplay, captain of St. Lô. Bib. Nat., fr. 26053, No. 1470.

²²⁷ For Suffolk's commission of March 14, 1430 n.s. see *ibid.*, No. 1292. For mustering by treasury commissioners see Luce, I. 296; Arch.

that the smooth functioning of concurrent authorities issuing commissions of array can be explained if we assume, as will appear later, that each captain was responsible for getting the necessary commissions issued for his company. He could apply to the Regent or to the treasury according to his convenience. It was merely necessary that the captain, when settling his accounts, show that his men had been mustered under legitimate authority. Inasmuch as most captains would probably have most of their ordinary dealings with the treasury it would follow that in most cases they would get their commissions of array from the officials there.

When we turn to the question of who took the muster the shift from military to civilian is much more marked and the record is sufficiently extensive to carry conviction. The tendency is not only towards the elimination of captains and lieutenants from the function of mustering, but also of increasing the number of commissioners, so that they could serve as a check upon each other, and of drawing them from the local officials whose receipts in many instances provided the actual pay for the garrison.²²⁸ The statistical table on the next page will make clearer some of these tendencies for the period through the fiscal year 1428-29.

For the following twelve years (1429-1441) the surviving commissions of array, muster rolls and quittances provide a record of eight hundred and eighty-one musters and nearly twenty-five hundred commissioners.

de la Manche, A, supplement 3882; Bib. de Caen, MSS Mancel XVI. 41.

²²⁸ This last phase I am hoping to develop at greater length in a study on "Payment by Assignment."

Only twenty-five musters were taken by a single commissioner; only fifty-two commissioners are clearly military; some others are hard to classify as military or

| | 1423-24 ²²⁹ | 1425-28 ²³⁰ | 1428-29 ²³¹ |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Number of musters | 163 | 94 | 152 |
| Civilian commissioners | 93 | 127 | 224 |
| Military commissioners | 125 | 45 | 65 |
| Musters by military only | 88 | 14 | 14 |
| Musters by civilians only | 45 | 58 | 99 |
| Musters by a single commissioner | 108 | 22 | 16 |
| Musters by two or more commissioners | 55 | 72 | 136 |

civilian, but the large majority are civilian, usually the local officials.²³²

New opportunities offered themselves now, in connection with mustering, for insisting that the military

²²⁹ Based on Surreau's second account. Bib. Nat., fr. 4485 *passim*. The seneschal and his lieutenant are counted as military. See above pp. 5-11. Baillis are classified as civilians. There were only three musters where local civilian officials were used.

²³⁰ These are the years following the lapse of the seneschal's office (see above, p. 46) and before Surreau's seventh account. The record is necessarily fragmentary because based on such miscellaneous documents as have chanced to survive. There are nearly a hundred of these from which the data has been tabulated.

²³¹ Based on Surreau's seventh account. Bib. Nat., fr. 4488 *passim*. The controller of another garrison is counted as a civilian. Of the civilian commissioners more than half (115) were local officials.

²³² These figures are based on the tabulation of over nine hundred and fifty documents. When in October 1429 the lieutenant of Argentan was warned of a surprise attack he was ordered to recruit more men "et facez voz monstres devant juge." Bib. Nat., fr. 23189, No. 7. In publishing this document Stevenson (II¹. 85) assigned it to 1428, but the expression in it "laide prochainement a levir que on espoire en Decembre" is more appropriate to 1429. The Council was busy arranging for *creues* like this in 1429, but not in 1428. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

conform to the details of an administrative system in the interests of accuracy and efficiency. When a commission of array was issued for certain named local officials to take a muster, the treasury demanded that it be taken by them and not by other uncommissioned persons. Quittance of March 31, 1430 n.s. from Sir William Oldhall, captain of Fresnay, notes that the muster of Dec. 22, 1429 was made by Jean le Cheron, receiver of aides at Fresnay, and by Jean Frogier, *tabellion*, and that the latter had been called in because of the absence of Sir Robert Harling, captain of Essay, who had been commissioned to take this muster along with Cheron, "lequel Messire Robert souffisanment par nous Requis de prandre icelles monstres en a este Refusant et pour ce avons obtenir lettres de mons^r le tresorier de Normandie adrecans audit Receveur pour estre paie desdiz gages et Regars non obstant labsence que dessus."²³³ It would seem from this wording that the captain of Fresnay was responsible for seeing that the commissioners mustered his garrison. This might give the captain some control over the date of muster, but the presence of the controller with his record of absences would prevent any such control being to the treasury's disadvantage. It becomes apparent also by 1432, if not earlier, that the captain was obliged to get the commissions necessary for mustering his men.²³⁴ It was certainly a

²³³ Bib. Nat., P.O. 2138, Oldhall, section 48630, No. 5. It is noteworthy that the decision on this irregularity was made in the treasury itself without resort to the Regent for a *non obstant* warrant.

²³⁴ Dec. 14, 1432, a letter of relief on behalf of Sir John Hanford, bailli of Mante, explains that he and his men served since 14 May "sanz de nous avoir obtenu noz lettres de commission de Recevoir les monstres desdiz deux hommes darmes et vintquatre archiers Neantmoins quil fait et fait faire

matter of concern to the garrison that it be mustered, commission or no commission, as appears from the preamble of an Avranches roll (Oct. 12, 1434), where the reviewing officers explain that they are acting "a la Requeste de Thomas Chizenalle escuier mareschal dudit lieu et aultres dessusdiz lances et archiers — Pource present quartier dan commenchant le XXIX^e jour de Septembre derrein passe Pource que ledit mareschal et souldoiers dessusdit disoient navoir aucune commissaire du Roy ou de noss^{rs} les Tresoriers Receveur generaulx

lesdiz montres et Reveues pardevant notre ame et feal chl^r Richart Guethin capitaine et Jehan Varin Receveur dudit lieu de Mante." Sir John fears that this omission will be used to with-hold his pay and has asked for royal provision in advance. He is hereby relieved of "l'omission et negligence de non avoir eu et prins commission apparteman pour la Reception desdictes monstres." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11789. April 11, 1433 n.s. a letter to Surreau explains that the captain of Ste. Katherine de Rouen often requested the appointment of a new commissioner of array, because the one appointed was too sick to act, but the Council did not get around to making the new appointment until March was ended (i.e. after the quarter ended). Surreau is directed to accept muster as though taken in March. Bib. Nat., fr. 26056, No. 2049. When we find a captain's quittance for a quarter's pay and the commission of array for his retinue for the next quarter dated the same day, it is reasonable to assume that they formed part of the same transaction, and that the captain gave one and received the other. For Nov. 26, 1428 there is quittance from Richard Waller, captain and bailli of Evreux, for the quarter June 29–Sept. 28, 1428 (*ibid.*, P.O. 3044, Walli, section 67579, No. 4) and a commission of array from the treasury officials to the bailli of Gisors, the lieutenant of the vicomte of Evreux, and Roger Ingerland for Waller's retinues (Arch. de l'Eure, B 96), under which they mustered them on Dec. 6, 1428 (Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, p. 271). Similarly for June 28, 1428 there is a commission of array for the retinue of Sir John Harpelay as bailli of the Cotentin (*ibid.*, fr. 26050, No. 910) for the fourth quarter of the fiscal year 1428–29, and a quittance of June 29, 1428 from him for the third quarter (*ibid.*, No. 900). See also for Pont d'Ouve, Jan. 28–29, 1429 n.s. (*ibid.*, fr. 4488, p. 257; fr. 26051, No. 1030).

de Normandie.”²³⁵ It was also incumbent on the captain and not the commissioners to see to it that the muster roll, with the commission of array attached, got back to the treasury.²³⁶ All this shows an assertion by

²³⁵ Arch. de la Manche, A. supplement 3878, No. 3888. Evidently neither captain nor lieutenant was present at the time at Avranches. No one else would have had any standing in securing a commission of array. In July 1435 part of a field force at Vire was about to leave to join Lord Scales at the siege of St. Denis. At the request of the lieutenant of Vire the local officials, who had been mustering the garrison repeatedly in previous quarters, mustered the soldiers on 16 July. Quittance for the quarter calls attention to the fact that this muster was at an earlier date than the commission of array for the quarter, but apparently the receiver-general did not demand letters of relief. Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 21134, No. 63.

²³⁶ This appears from a warrant of Aug. 7, 1431 and refers to a statement of Sir Thomas Blount, captain of St. Lô, with respect to a muster roll of his garrison in the second quarter of 1425, which Sir Thomas sent by one of his men to Belknap, the treasurer, who lost it. Bib. Nat., fr. 26054, No. 1627. In his quittance (Sept. 11, 1431) Sir Thomas repeats his affirmation, that muster was made before the commissioners and the roll given by one of his servants to the treasurer in order to get payment of the garrison's wages, but the roll was lost while in Belknap's hands, so no payment was made. Arch. de la Seine Inf., occupation anglaise, Guerre, B. A muster roll of March 20, 1421 n.s. for Falaise has on its back the names of two men-at-arms and two archers, whose names also appear in the roll among those present. Were these the men detailed to carry the roll “To the Seneshalle of Normandie,” which address also appears on the back? Brit. Mus., Eg. Ch. 146. Quittance of Sept. 3, 1427 from Thomas Bourgh, captain of Avranches, records that he has given musters to the receiver-general, evidently as a preliminary to being paid. Bib. Nat., Clairambault 142, p. 2925, No. 99. Sir William Bishopston, captain of Gaillard, in a quittance of Sept. 25, 1429 mentions his men “dont nous avons fait monstres qui ont este baillee audit Receveur lors quil nous fist payement de lautre moitie dudit quartier.” *Ibid.*, fr. 26052, No. 1141. A warrant from Bedford dated Feb. 27, 1433 n.s. referring to complaints from the lieutenant of Avranches records “que ledit exposant ait envoié les monstres, contreroles et lettres servans et souffisans a ce” (i.e. the settling of the garrison's account). *Ibid.*, fr. 26056, No. 2018. In the first quarter of 1436 Lord Willoughby, captain of Pontoise, made three monthly musters “delaquelle premier monstre il vous (i.e. the treasurer)

the treasury of administrative authority in matters of detail which is worthy of note.

That such responsibility was successfully put upon the military appears clearly from a warrant of May 16, 1432 from Bedford to the treasurer recounting that:

noz bien amez les souldoiers de la garnison de Vire nous ont fait exposer que une commission par eulx obtenue de mondits^r le Roy pour Recevoir leurs monstres du quartier fini ou premier jour de Janvier derrenierement passe fut perdue et par les adversaires Ravye et ostee ou chemin dentre Rouen et ledit lieu de Vire, laquelle chose veant lesdis souldoiers et que letemps desdictes monstres faire aprouchoit fort et si prez que ilz neussent peu avoir envoye de Rechief endedens ledit quartier pardevers mondits^r le Roy pour ladicte commission firent faire leurs dictes monstres pardevant le lieutenant du bailli de Caen en la viconte de Vire, le lieutenant general du viconte deladicte viconte de Vire et le contreroleur de la garnison dudit lieu de Vire qui pour le quartier precedent avoient Receu icelles monstres, mais ce non obstant Pierre Surreau Receveur general desdictes finances soubz couleur que lesdis souldoiers ne lui ont fait apparoir de commission souffisant a fait Refus et delay de faire compte et paiement ausdis souldoiers de leurs gaiges Regards et souldees pour le quartier dessus declairie.²³⁷

ait fait apparoir Et des autres deux ne pourroit finer pource que elles ont este perdues a Pontoise avec pluseurs autres de ses biens par le moien de la Rebellion que ont faictes contre nous les habitans dudit lieu de Pontoise a laide de noz adversaires qui iceluy lieu occupent." Willoughby's failure to produce these for the receiver-general held up his pay until he got a special warrant, May 28, 1436. *Ibid.*, fr. 26061, No. 2838. For the muster roll and commission of array being sent in attached to each other see Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11878; Eg. Ch. 149; Bib. Nat., fr. 25773, No. 1184; Clairambault 182, p. 6536, No. 4. At the treasury, after accounts were settled, the captain's quittance was added and the three documents thus tied together were filed. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11905.

²³⁷ Bib. Nat., fr. 26055, No. 1816. This was during the short period when

When musters were made by substitute commissioners, or in the unavoidable absence of one of the deputies, the reasons were carefully noted on the roll,²³⁸ and an energetic and experienced captain like Lord Scales took precaution in such case by getting letters of relief in advance in order to forestall the treasury's refusal to pay when the irregularity was discovered.²³⁹ This same captain acted with similar promptitude in getting a special "non obstant" warrant on another occasion, when his garrison failed to muster during the quarter Sept. 29-Dec. 28, 1432 because the commissioners of array did not arrive at Domfront until 31 December.²⁴⁰ It may be that he had taken the further precaution of having the exact date omitted from the muster roll.²⁴¹

the treasury was trying the experiment of paying the soldiers directly and not through the captain.

²³⁸ On the review of the Neufchâtel garrison, Dec. 26, 1430, there is the explanation that Jehan Monde substituted for Gervais Clifton "pourceque icelluy Clifton estoit occupe de maladie tellement quil neust peu vaquer en personne a prendre les dictes monstres." Arch. Nat. K 63, No. 10¹⁸. This was a first muster for a new captain and retinue, whose pay started from the day of first muster, so they could not wait for Clifton to recover. Bib. Nat., P.O. 65, No. 17. Similarly a commissioner at the Domfront muster of June 6, 1431 certifies that he and the controller took muster but that his fellow commissioner, the vicomte, was "absent pourcequil estoit ale faire ses comptes a Paris comme lendit." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11723.

²³⁹ Letters of relief for Lord Scales, Sept. 21, 1431, add that the vicomte was taken sick in Paris. *Ibid.* 11735. In the preceding spring (May 16, 1431), Lord Scales had needed a special warrant to get his pay for the preceding quarter as captain of Domfront because, when the garrison mustered, "Il ne aeste pas nomme ou escript en icelles par linadvertance simpleste ou ignorance du clerc qui les escrui." His own declaration and a controller's certificate were substituted for the muster *Ibid.* 11719.

²⁴⁰ Feb. 28, 1433 n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 26056, No. 2021. See above note 40.

²⁴¹ The preamble of the muster roll explains that the muster was for the quarter beginning Michaelmas 1432, but does not give the date of the muster.

If the commissioners could not both appear together they might imitate the vicomte of Gisors, who write on the muster roll for Vernon of Nov. 1, 1435 that he had taken the muster "Et pourceque Jehan le Sac guer-nectier de Vernon semblablement commissaire desdictes monstres estoit a Rouen au temps deladicte Recepcion dicelles Il a depuis veu les personnes desclairees en icelles et pource les a signez de son saing manuel avec nous viconte dessusdit."²⁴² It may be doubted if this satisfied the treasury, when we note that in February 1429 n.s. William Glasdale, captain of Fresnay, needed letters of relief to collect pay on his muster of Dec. 27, 1428 "pour ce que lesdictes monstres ne furent pas passes par lesdiz commissaires assemblement lesquelles furent faictes en son (Glasdale's) absence qui estoit lors ou service du Roy ala garde de la bastide du pont d'Orleans par sesdictes gens audit Fresnay cuidans que lun desdiz commissaires eust puissance seul de les Recevoir."²⁴³ By the end of 1434 the commissioners and captains were prepared to attempt to satisfy the treasury as to details even when it was impossible to comply exactly with orders. When a commission with the usual clause about calling in the controller was

The latter may have appeared in the certification at the end, but the bottom of the roll has been torn off. *Ibid.*, fr. 25770, No. 747.

²⁴² Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11878. A couple of years later commissions were issued naming three commissioners, including the controller, but empowering two of them to act, providing that the controller was always one of the two. Oct. 21, 1437, commission for Caen. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11963.

²⁴³ Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, p. 319. April 5, 1430 n.s., letters of relief because the commissioners for mustering the Caudebec *creue* did not take the muster together. *Ibid.*, P.O. 2501, Robessart, section 56184, No. 18.

issued for the first muster of a new captain at Régnéville the commissioners in taking muster recorded "present et appelle avec eulx pour ce quil ny avoit aucun contre-roleur en ladicte garnison Pierres Potier tabellion du Roy notres^r audit lieu de Coustances." ²⁴⁴ Or again when, at Evreux, the commission was addressed to the vicomte and *grenetier*,²⁴⁵ and, for some unrecorded reason, the latter could not serve, the captain, Sir Nicholas Burdet (remembering earlier experiences, no doubt) requested that the royal procurator be called in. This was duly noted on the muster roll,²⁴⁶ and on the basis of this muster wages were paid apparently without letters of relief.²⁴⁷

With that insistence necessary for bureaucratic efficiency irregularities coming from Bedford himself were refused toleration. When Glasdale was killed at Orleans Sir Robert Harling was retained in his place as bailli of Alençon, and the Regent sent the warrant for paying wages to his retinue direct to the receiver-general instead of to the treasurers for verification. If this procedure was taken with the expectation of expediting payment it was a complete failure, because it delayed the issuance of a commission of array for the second muster of the retinue, and brought about a refusal to accept, without letters of relief, a muster taken by the lieutenant of the bailli of Sonnoiz, Jean Bouchier and the receiver of aides at Fresnay, because "les dessusdiz

²⁴⁴ Quittance of April 8, 1435 n.s. *Ibid.*, fr. 26059, No. 2499. The treasury included Potier in the next commission issued for this garrison. Feb. 28, 1435 n.s. *Ibid.*, No. 2474.

²⁴⁵ Nov. 19, 1436. *Ibid.*, fr. 26062, No. 3008.

²⁴⁶ Dec. 2, 1436. Arch. de l'Eure, B 96.

²⁴⁷ Bib. Nat., P.O. 557, Burdet, section 12579, No. 12.

nestoient commis a Recevoir lesdiz monstres que sesdiz garans ne sont point veriffiez." ²⁴⁸

The collapse of the Orleans expedition created a crisis which put to a test the English military system in Normandy. A fortnight after Patay the Council took steps to meet the situation by the following orders:

Les gens tenans a Rouen le conseil du Roy notres^r et commissaires dicelui seigneur en ceste partie a notre treschier et bien ame Pierre Surreau Recepveur general de normendie salut et dilection. Comme apres certaine Rencontre faicte pres Bosiency alencontre du Sire de Tallebot et autrez cappitaines et gens darmes envoyees es dictes parties pour le Roy notre dit seigneur Nous aions mande par noz lettres au bailli de Caen ou son lieutenant mectre certaines creues de soul-doiers es villes et forteresses de son bailliage outre les soul-doiers ordinaires Pour la tuicion garde et deffence dicelles pour ung mois a commencer le jour de leurs monstres Et entre les autrez ou chastel de Baieux le nombre de trois lances et quatorze archiers acheval pour servir le Roy notre dit seigneur illec souz le gouvernement du Sire de Willeby cappitaine dudit lieu ou son lieutenant et partout ailleurs ou il seroit ordonne Nous vous mandons et enioingnons que des deniers de votre Recepte vous paiez et delivres ou faictes paier et delivrer audit Sire de Willeby ou a son dit lieutenant les gages et Regars acoustumes desdiz trois lances et quatorze archiers pour ledit mois selon leurs monstres quilz seront tenus faire pardevant ledit bailli ou de son lieutenant. — Donne a Rouen le segond jour de Juillet lan de grace mil cccc vint neuf. Par les Gens du Conseil du Roy notres^r en Nor^{die} et commissaires. G. SEBIRE.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, fr. 4488, p. 322. As early as 1424 in the civil administration Bedford's failure to send financial orders through the regular treasury channels had held up the settlement of the accounts of the vicomte of Caen. Warrant of Oct. 18, 1424. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6821. When the order to pay concerned the retinue of the treasurer-general it was addressed by Bedford to the receiver-general. April 30, 1424. *Ibid.* 11515.

²⁴⁹ Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 75. The Council was acting under commission

In order to speed up administration this warrant was addressed directly to the receiver-general, and the process of verification was suspended.²⁵⁰ The duty of recruiting and of mustering was laid upon the local bailli and his lieutenant, and the Council itself issued the necessary commissions of array, indicating the numbers of the various *creues*, and, where the situation seemed to require it, directing that the commissioners muster these and the ordinary garrison all in one day and one hour "pour obvier aux fautes postes."²⁵¹ Late in August, when the first confusion had passed, Bedford himself again assumed direct control, issuing the commissions of array for the *creues*, which were to be mustered every month during the quarter for which they were recruited.²⁵²

from Bedford of June 26, 1429. Bib. Nat., fr. 1488, p. 477. Patay had been fought 18 June.

²⁵⁰ See above note 239. Letters of relief on this were issued by Bedford Aug. 27, 1429. *Ibid.*, pp. 477-478.

²⁵¹ This appears from a commission of July 29, 1429 with regard to the Harfleur garrison and two *creues*. Arch. de la Seine Inf., occupation anglaise, Guerre, S.

²⁵² There are two commissions of Aug. 29, 1429 for *creues* at Alençon and Louviers. They are in French and do not follow the form of the ordinary commissions from the Regent (see above note 222). Bib. Nat., fr. 26052, No. 1132; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7955. Earlier in the month the Council was still issuing commissions, and we note that the first muster of the *creue* at Essay is referred to in the muster roll as "Revue extraordinaire." Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 713. Monthly muster, of a sort, had been characteristic of the forces in the field as early as June 1418. Calendar of Norman Rolls, Henry V, *op. cit.*, vol. XLI. p. 711 et seq. In such circumstances, with the soldiery concentrated, this would not be difficult, and the practice was continued for field forces. Such forces had a certain temporary character i.e. they were formed for a definite campaign and dispersed when that was finished. The formation of *creues* was also a temporary measure to meet a crisis. The field forces are being distributed for the conduct of a defensive campaign.

By November the whole political situation had been rearranged on a new basis with the Burgundians at Paris and the English power concentrated in Normandy. It remained for the Regent and Council to attempt a survey of the available military strength by issuing orders to the treasury officials "de prendre ou faire prendre audit pais auplus brief que faire se porra par maniere de Reveue les moulttres de tous les Capp^{nos} des villes et places de tous le (duchie) de normendie et pais de conquete et des gens de leur Retenues de ce present cartier dan." In compliance the treasury sent out general commissions to the baillis and vicomtes to take the musters in their bailliaiges "le plus dilligeamment, segretement et hastivement que faire pourres appellees avec vous les contreroleurs desdiz places et garnisons." ²⁵³ The record of this survey has not survived.

The difficulties of the English military position served to re-emphasize a problem of garrison personnel which had not been ignored before, namely the question of loyalty and nationality. On more than one occasion towns and castles had been betrayed or surprised, and in a war of partisans it was very difficult to provide against such occurrences. As early as 1427 a clause had been written into the indentures to the effect "Et ne pourra icellui capp^{ne} ou son dit lieutenant Recevoir a souldoiers ne baillier charge de garde en la dite place — a aucuns qui auront tenu le party des anemys Et de nouvel

²⁵³ Treasury commission of Nov. 30, 1429. Bib. Nat., fr. 26052, No. 1199. Did investigation of this sort have anything to do with the delay in making the usual fall indentures, a delay peculiar to this year? The indentures for this year which have survived happen to be of dates earlier than 30 November. Is the practice of specifying garrison numbers in the commissions of array an outcome of the events and difficulties of 1429? See above note 225.

auront este ou seront Receuz en lobeissans du Roy notredits^r,"²⁵⁴ but there is nothing to show any attempt on the part of the government to supervise or to enforce obedience on this point. Henry V had recognized the existence of national distinctions, but his general summons to war on special occasions was indiscriminately addressed "(a) toutz maners de gentz, nobles et autres, nos subgiz quilxconques estantz en nostre duchie de quilxconques nations quilz soient Engloiz, Normans ou autres."²⁵⁵ Similar phraseology is found in documents of 1424, 1426 and 1427,²⁵⁶ but in September 1427 more careful distinction was made with respect "atous chlrs, escuiers, gensdarmes et de trait natifs du Royaume dAngleterre, dIrlande, dAllemaigne et de Gascongnie estans et residens reparans et demourans en (le) bailliage (de Caen)."²⁵⁷ When Bedford, in February 1428, was about to take the field in person to meet an expected attack in force by the Dauphin, proclamation was addressed "(a) tous anglois dequelque estat quilz soient" — "en fortresses ou dehors sur le pais."²⁵⁸ And in the following summer when he was raising an army in Normandy to join the forces coming from England under Salisbury for the Orleans campaign special restrictions were applied, according to a warrant which refers to the fact that Sir Lancelot (de Lisle?) had been

²⁵⁴ A clause like this is found in Salisbury's indenture as captain of Meulan, Sept. 22, 1427. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7945.

²⁵⁵ Nov. 9, 1421. Rôles de Brèquigny 1052.

²⁵⁶ Stevenson, II. 26, 68-76; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 327.

²⁵⁷ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1095. But in October the call was addressed "(a) tous nobles et aultres tant engloys que francoys et normans qui ont acoustume hanter la guerre." Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 21289, No. 80.

²⁵⁸ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 3618; Arch. Nat., K 62, No. 40.

retained with a retinue of thirty-five mounted lances and one hundred and five archers, all of whom were to be natives of England, except that there could be ten French men-at-arms.²⁵⁹

The earliest sign of supervision appears in a commission of array dated March 24, 1430 n.s. from Bedford, with regard to Sir Richard Merbury "de nouvel" retained as captain of Meulan with a retinue "tous anglois et natifs du Roy^m d'Angleterre," in which the commissioners were instructed "prendre le seurement en tel cas accoustume que ilz sont tous natifs dudit Roy^m d'Angleterre et de la Retenue dudit chevalier audit lieu et non dautre garnison ou Retenue."²⁶⁰ More determined effort appears in a treasury commission of June 9, 1430 relative to Pontoise, in which the commissioners are directed "que le plus brief que vous pourres,"²⁶¹ and by 24 June at the latest, to muster the garrison "En passant en icelles monstres gens darmes et de trait de la nascion d'Angleterre ou du pays subgiet du Royaume d'Angleterre bien montez et armez et les archiers biens tirans et habillez souffisant, Et ou cas que aucunes dautres nascions seroient presentez ausdictes monstres les marquez en ceste et aussi y marquez sil en ya aucunes de ladicte nascion d'Angleterre qui soient manans habitants et tenans mesnages faisans mestiers ou marchandises audit lieu." That this was a novelty which might excite resentment and perhaps resistance appears from

²⁵⁹ Arch. de la Seine Inf., Fonds Danquin supplement, Acquisition Millet.

²⁶⁰ Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 79.

²⁶¹ Bedford's commission of April 4, 1429 with respect to Pont del Arche directed that muster be taken "en toute celerite possible." *Ibid.*, fr. 26051, No. 1071. This is unique.

a later clause. "Et en cas que le capp^{ne} sera desdictes monstres faire Reffusant ou delayant de son Reffus ou delay nous certifiez par voz lettres patentes. Et soyes bien advertiz que pour occasion quelzconques ne passez en icelles monstres personne se ne le veez sur paine de paier la solde et den estre Repris par le Roy." ²⁶² In obedience to these orders the commissioners mustered the Pontoise garrison 13 June, and made detailed report showing one third of the lances (including the controller) and one eighth of the archers to be French, and five Englishmen and three Frenchmen to be married. "Lesquelz maries marches en teste sont tous demourans mesnagiers en la dicte ville de Pontoise." ²⁶³

It is suggested that this was an exploratory move, which may not have been general, but which was preliminary to the issuance of orders restricting the garrisons to Englishmen and to non-Norman subjects of King Henry, and forbidding members of garrisons to reside and do business in the town where they were stationed. This is inferred from the new orders of Sept. 10, 1430 directing a general, secret and simultaneous muster throughout Normandy with special attention to these points, of which the following document is an example:

Henry par la Grace de dieu Roy de France et dangleterre au Bailli de Contentin au viconte dAvranches et aux contre-rolours des garnisons dAvranches et de tombelaine ou a leurs

²⁶² Bib. Nat., fr. 26053, No. 1360.

²⁶³ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11663. This was a large retinue, forty-five mounted lances and one hundred and ninety-one archers, under Lord Willoughby. It had been in garrison since May 15, 1430. As early as Oct. 9, 1423 there is an isolated muster roll for Argentan on which the Gascons and Normans are marked. *Ibid.* 91.

lieuxtenans salut. Pour ce que Nous voulons avoir congnoissance du nombre des gens darmes et de trait ordonnez es garnisons de notre duchies de Normandie et pais de conquete afin que puissions savoir de quel nombre desdites gens nous nous pourrons aidier nous confians de voz sens loiaulte et bonne diligence vous mandons commandons et enioingnons expressement ou aux deux de vous que le XXVI^e jour de ce mois precisement et non plus tost ne plus tart recevez les monstres des gens darmes et de trait du capitaine ou cap^{nes} desdites places d'Avranches et de tombelaine en passant ceulx qui seront monstrez armez et abillez souffisamment chacun selon son estat et cassant les autres que en voz consciences et sur voz honneurs et loiaultez verrez estre acasser sans y recevoir toutesvoies pour cestefoiz aucun sil nest de la nacion d'Angleterre yrois galois ou guiennois car ainsi fut il par nous derrenierment ordonne ne sans y Recevoir aussi quelconque personne soit anglois ou autre qui seroit Resident es bonnes villes et y tenant mesnage et domicile acause de marchandise ou faisant fait de mestier ou marchandise. Et du nombre que aurez passe certifiez secretement soubz voz seaulx les gens de notre conseil. Et tenez ce present mandement secret jusques aladite journee. De ce faire vous donnons pouvoir auctorite et mandement especial mandons et commandons audit capitaine ou cap^{nes} et a tous ceulx desdites garnisons que a vous ou aux deux de vous obeissant et entendent diligentment. Donne en notre ville de Rouen le dix^e jour de Septembre lan de grace mil cccc et trente, Et de notre Regne le huitiesme. Par le Roy ala Relacion de son grant conseil. CALOT.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11674. There are other commissions of this date for Carentan and Pont d'Ouve (*ibid.* 373), St. Lô (*ibid.* 6843), Caudebec (Bib. Nat., fr. 26053, No. 1395), Harfleur (*ibid.*, No. 1396), Meulan, Poissy and St. Germain (*ibid.*, No. 1397), Honfleur and Touque (*ibid.*, fr. 26296, No. 22), Alençon (*ibid.*, fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 95), and Vire (*ibid.*, No. 96). There is a commission of array of Jan. 8, 1418 n.s., one of the earliest for Henry V's forces in France, directing the muster of the men at Bonsmoulins, Laigle, Rugles, Mortaigne, Clinchamp and Bellême on Tuesday next (i.e. 12 January) or within two days thereafter. Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 230. This detail is unique in the documents of this period.

The following document illustrates the response to these orders:

A noz tresredoubtes et treshonnoures seigneurs Noz seigneurs du Conseil du Roy notres^r Durant de Thieuville lieutenant particulier de noble homme mons^r Raoul Bouteillier chl^r bailli de Rouen et de Gisors Et Henry Spissier contreroule^r de la garnison du chastel de Touque honneur service et Reverence avec toute obbeissance. Noz tresredoubtes et treshonnoures seigneurs plaise vous savoir que par vertu des lettres du Roy notredits^r donnees a Rouen le X^e jour de ce present mois de Septembre a nous addrechans Nous en obtemperant a icelles avons au jour duy XXVI^e jour dudit mois de Septembre prins les monstres des gensdarmes et archiers estans es garnisons de la ville de Honnefleu et du chastel de Touque ainsi quil nous estoit mande par les dictes lettres Lesquelles monstres et lettres nous Renvoions devers vous closes et seelle et au Roule desdictes monstres sont ces presentes annexe^{es}. Et tout ce vous certiffions estre vray et par nous avoir ainsi este fait. Si vuilliez en sourplus ordonner selon voz nobles discretions. Et pour tesmoing de ce nous seelle ces presentes de noz seaulx et signees de noz seings manuelz ledit vint six^{me} jour de Septembre lan mil cccc et trente. DURANT H. SPICIER²⁶⁵

The muster rolls attached to this showed carefully, that muster had been taken at Touque at 9 A.M., and at Honfleur at 2 P.M. A quarter of the Honfleur garrison were marked as absent at the siege of Louviers, while one of the archers was marked as living in the town with note to the effect that "il a servi et fait son guet et a este a monstre souffissament habille mes il se mesle de fait ostelerie en la dicte ville en une maison quil tient a louage et si furent luy et son filz prisonnier et sa maison arse ala course de La Hire es forsbour^s de Honnefleu."²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ Bib. Nat., fr. 26267, No. 355.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fr. 26274, No. 109.

Of the half dozen muster rolls from this particular muster only one (Avranches) shows any foreigners, namely one German in forty-two men-at-arms, and a Picard, a Breton and twelve Normans in sixty-six archers.²⁶⁷ Presumably on the basis of the data provided by this survey of the garrisons the Royal Council "par grant meure deliberacion" drew up plans and issued orders "estre mis de creue certain nombre de gens es places villes et forteresses diceulx noz duchie et pais oultre et par dessus le premier nombre ordonne au commencement de ceste presente annee commençant ala Saint Michel derrainierment passe et soubz les capp^{nes} desdiz places affin de les povoir avecq autres dicelles traire et avoir pour tenir les champs quant mestier seroit."²⁶⁸

At the same time new rules, related to these problems of personnel and presumably copied from the royal orders referred to above, were written into the indentures made in September 1430. Under these the captains agreed not to have more than half their lances French and to have all their archers English, Irish, Welsh or Gascon subjects to King Henry, not to recruit their retinues in the neighborhood, and to maintain the ratio

²⁶⁷ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7965. The list of archers is incomplete, the roll being mutilated. The other rolls are for Rouen (*ibid.* 11678), Coutances (*ibid.* 11679), St. Lô (*ibid.* 11673), and Bayeux (Bib. Nat., fr. 25769, No. 527). The last one provided some details as to equipment.

²⁶⁸ Royal letter of Dec. 21, 1430 to the bailli of Alençon embodied in a letter of March 7, 1431 n.s. from the bailli to the vicomte of Alençon. Bib. Nat., fr. 26054, No. 1492. On Dec. 4, 1430 payment was made to a messenger sent from Rouen to the captains of Neufchâtel and Gournay with royal letters patent "contenant quilz preissent plus grant Retenue de gens pour lagarde dicelles villes que le nombre qui estoit contenu en leurs endentures." *Ibid.*, fr. nouv. acq. 21289, No. 90. Muster rolls showing the increase are in Arch. Nat., K 63, Nos. 10¹⁸, 36.

of three archers for every lance. They were permitted to have among the archers a cannoneer, an armorer, a fletcher, a bow-maker and an arbalest-maker, but these were always to be "a la garde." These provisos as to nationality remained until 1434, when they were modified to permit one eighth of the entire retinue to be French, an arrangement which maintained the same ratio of French to other nationalities but did not confine them to the men-at-arms.²⁶⁹

Whatever effect and intent these measures had with respect to controlling and supervising the garrison personnel, their results as a survey of military resources, for reasons which are obscure, were unsatisfactory. Royal letters of Feb. 1, 1431 n.s. complain that the commissioners failed to obey the orders which they received, either from negligence or because of resistance on the part of the captains. In consequence the Council obtained from the treasury a list of all the commissioners. It ordered that any captain who refused to submit to this form of muster should be paid only from the date when he permitted the muster. And it summoned the commissioners to appear before the Council, under pain

²⁶⁹ Honfleur indenture, Sept. 20, 1430 (Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 97); 12 September for Arques (*ibid.*, fr. 26053, No. 1399), Caudebec (Arch. de la Seine Inf., occupation anglaise, Guerre, R), St. Lô (Arch. de la Manche, A. supplement 3882); 7 December for Argentan (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 378). Gisors indenture, Oct. 20, 1434. Bib. Nat., fr. 26058, No. 2372. Had the captains resisted the muster as contrary to their indentures? For an example of the enforcement of this proviso see above note 164. For Oct. 15, 1432 there is quittance from the captain of Exmes acknowledging a rebate "sur les gages de trois archiers normans dicelle Retenue et oultre et pardessus ce quilz et ung autre archier francois de Paris a moy non Rabatu sur ledit compte." *Ibid.*, P.O. 559, Burgh, section 12617, No. 5. Quittances in 1438 (Avranches) and 1440 (Carentan) show these rules still in force.

of arrest and confiscation, to explain the situation.²⁷⁰ As a result, presumably, of these directions and discussions, on March 4, 1431 n.s. new commissions for a simultaneous surprise muster to be held on 24 March were issued, with special orders that garrisons and *creues* were to be mustered and certified separately.²⁷¹ The surviving rolls for this muster are not sufficient to show anything different from those of September, unless it be on the investigation of nationality. For Evreux *creue* the roll shows four archers "normand" and one "de Lorraine" out of fifty-three, with note from the commissioners "Et avoir marches les normands et autres nacions. Et ceulx qui ne sont marches sont tous de la nacion dEngleterre ace ilz nous ont tesmoigne."²⁷² At Harfleur in a force of over a hundred there was a "Normant faiseur de flaisses" and seven Germans, two of whom are marked "brasseur" and three others marked "oisieur," "cousturier," "tonnelier," others among the English are marked "il est bracheur de cervoise," "leuvent aucune fois cervoise en leur maisons," "taillandeur," "mareschal et canonier," "carpentier et cannonier," "barbier et faiseur cordes a arc."²⁷³ One suspects that garrison duty at Harfleur

Ibid., Clairambault 171, p. 5479, No. 3; P.O. 3501, Robessart, section 56184, No. 32.

²⁷⁰ Stevenson, II¹, 182-187.

²⁷¹ Four of these commissions have survived: Essay (Bib. Nat., fr. 26054, No. 1514), Argentan (*ibid.*, fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 106), Rouen (Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 10³¹), Lisieux (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11704).

²⁷² *Ibid.* 180. At Neuchâtel all the garrison, thirty-one lances and eighty-nine archers, were English except two Norman lances; out of sixteen lances in the *creue* there were five who spoke French, and ten of the forty-six archers were French. Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 10³⁶.

²⁷³ Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 10³⁴. The other rolls of this date are from

was not very exciting or demanding, and that the practice of a trade, particularly if combined with some artisan activity connected with the military needs of the garrison, was more lucrative than seeking the usual gains of war, and was free of the necessity of giving a thirty per cent cut to the captain. All this time the ordinary routine system of mustering under royal and treasury commissions, which was the basis for the payment of wages, continued as usual, but with the Normans marked on the muster rolls.²⁷⁴

Meulan (*ibid.*, No. 10⁸⁵), Vernon, which is actually dated 27 March (*ibid.*, No. 10⁸⁷), and Honfleur (Bib. Nat., fr. 25774, No. 1312) where, as before, the hour of muster, seven o'clock, is carefully recorded.

²⁷⁴ For the last quarter of 1430 there are nine ordinary commissions of array issued in the king's name. *Ibid.*, fr. 26053, Nos. 1410, 1417, 1468; fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 104; Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 10¹⁰; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 3668, 11670, 11680, 11683. Possibly this effort to survey the military position with the greatest assurance of accuracy should be connected with the residence of King Henry with his council in Rouen (July 29, 1430–Nov. 20, 1431). Neufchâtel muster roll of Dec. 26, 1430 shows five Norman lances and six Norman archers in more than eighty men. Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 10¹⁸. For the first quarter of 1431 there are two commissions both from the treasury. *Ibid.*, Nos. 10²¹, ²³. An Evreux muster roll of March 31, 1431 n.s. (mutilated) in more than a hundred names shows seven Normans, a Breton, a Gascon, a Spaniard, a Lombard and a German. Arch. de l'Eure, B 96. The royal commissions are in French but tend to keep to the older Latin format. The treasury commissions direct the commissioners to certify the names as before and add "dequelz nacions ilz sont et de quelz harnois etc." (commission for Carentan, June 2, 1431. Brit. Mus., Eg. Ch. 161). Later in royal commissions there is reference to the numbers of the retinue to be mustered with the phrase "tous angloiz galoiz iroiz ou gascons"; May 9, 1432, Mante (*ibid.*, Add. Ch. 3710), Mante creue (Bib. Nat., fr. 26055, No. 1813). Occasionally violations of the order against recruiting from the town inhabitants appear. Alençon quittances, Nov. 10, 1433, show two archers ineligible "Pourceque ledit du Boys fut varlet du grenetier d'Alençon denier trespasse et ledit Dannoy est hostellier audit lieu d'Alençon" (*ibid.*, Clairambault 161, p. 4583, No. 11), and again five archers who were "hosteliers et habitans" of Alençon (Arch. Nat., K 63, No. 28¹⁰⁷).

One of the complicating features of military-financial administration, from the early days of the English occupation, arose from the necessity of utilizing the same forces for both garrison and field service. Ordinarily garrison duty was a year-round business, while field service, even for a first-class campaign, was likely to be a matter of the summer months only. From the angle of muster, review and pay, field service was the more complicated because it required more extensive use of actual money. To prevent pillage the men must be paid in cash so that they could buy provisions. Consequently forces in the field were mustered and paid on a monthly instead of a quarterly basis. Such forces in the early days of the conquest were mainly armies from England under the financial administration of the Treasurer of War.²⁷⁵ These do not concern us here. Administrative complications developed when it became necessary to form field forces by calling out contingents from the garrisons, because it not only required a system of mustering, which insured that the garrison captain obeyed orders to send so many men to a given place at a given time, but it also involved a system of accounting, which coördinated the record of payment to the men in the field with that to the men in garrison. In general, during the 1420's, this was not a matter of any great difficulty. Special accounts for each expedition were kept by the treasury officials, and any expedition which lasted more than a month had a detailed statement of the monthly musters and payments.²⁷⁶ As long as events

²⁷⁵ See Newhall, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

²⁷⁶ In Surreau's second account, 1423-24 (Bib. Nat., fr. 4485 *passim*), following the chapter on the payment of wages to the Norman garrisons, there are special sections devoted to the siege of Guise (six months), the

moved favorably for the English this system served, and worked in an orderly fashion. But the collapse of the Orleans campaign and the rout of Patay created a crisis which introduced a new element, the *creue*, into the military-financial system. There is a special section in Surreau's seventh account relating to the *creues* in the Norman garrisons, "icelles creues mises es moys de Juillet Aoust et Septembre mil ccccxxix pour la garde et deffense desdiz places et pays de Nor^{die} a loccasion du siege dOrleans qui estoit leve par les ennemis qui lors se mectoient sus agrosse puissance pour conquerir pays."²⁷⁷ The confusion of the moment permitted partial disregard of the system of muster and of treasury supervision,²⁷⁸ but even before the end of June the situation was sufficiently in hand for the requirements of first muster for the various *creues* to be almost universally

siege of Gaillon (three months), the siege of Ivry, the *journée* of Ivry (i.e. the Vernueil campaign), the expedition against Nogent le Rotrou, etc., the expedition against Mont St. Michel, and the forces for the conquest of Maine. The individual items of payment to the contingents from the garrisons are recorded twice, once under the garrison record and again under that of the expedition. That section of Surreau's seventh account, 1428-29 (*ibid.*, fr. 4488) relating to the men from the Norman garrisons engaged in the Orleans expedition has been published by L. Jarry as *Le Compte de l'armée anglaise au siège d'Orléans, 1428-1429* (Orleans, 1892).

²⁷⁷ Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, p. 477. This was part of the measures taken for the defense of Normandy under Bedford's orders from Paris of June, 26, 1429. See above note 249.

²⁷⁸ Orders from Bedford of Aug. 27, 1429 directed that the account should be allowed on the basis of his previous orders "avec certificacions et lettres de mesditss^{rs} du conseil, monstre et Reveues ou elles estherroient et quictances souffisans — non obstant que les mandemens de meditss^{rs} du conseil ne soient ou feussent et aussy les lettres dordonnance ou commission dessusdicte aucunement verifiez par meditss^{rs} les tresoriers." *Ibid.*, pp. 477-478.

observed,²⁷⁹ and by the latter part of August the system of verification had been resumed.²⁸⁰ The circumstances relative to paying the captain of Louviers will illustrate the situation although they are exceptional. The record reads, "Pour ce quilz aurent en certaines nouvelles que les ennemis se prepaioient pour avoir par emblee assault ou autrement ladictie ville de Loviers et que ledit chlr (Sir Guillotin de Lansac) avec plusieurs autres des dix lances et xxx archiers ordonnez par mondits^r le Regent en garnison audit lieu soubz ledit chlr estoient venuz a Rouen pour avoir leur paiement Et lesdiz soldoiers estoient Refusee de y Retourner sans avoir aucun paiement de leurs gaiges Pour la neccessite quil estoit quil Retournast en toute haste audit lieu estre fait prest de la somme de iiii^{xx} l. t. sur les gaiges desdiz soldoyers du premier moys quilz servoient et serviroient non obstant quil neust encore pas fait monstre."²⁸¹ In some cases, particularly on the frontiers, special arrangements for payments in kind and in exactions from enemy territory were resorted to, which is probably to be connected with a difficult financial situation and

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 478-529. Lord Scales made a deal to head a company of seven men-at-arms and twenty-one archers for guarding Rouen for a month for 200 l.t. in advance without muster (p. 508). The regular pay would have been at least 212 l. 6 s. 8 d.t. Fastolf had a warrant of Aug. 25, 1429 for the payment "sans monstres" of re-enforcements sent to St. Germain (p. 514). A special force at Evreux was paid for fifteen days without muster, but this was a force which had been in service thereabouts and was merely serving under a new indenture which provided for monthly musters (pp. 493-494). See also for Dreux (p. 500).

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 512, 514.

²⁸¹ *Bib. Nat.*, fr. 4488, p. 499. It is noted that he shall be paid the rest of fifteen days' pay after he has mustered at Louviers. The record of this came in the next account.

possibly with the wish to avoid the hazards of transporting money.²⁸² Presumably the system of *creues* made

²⁸² *Creues* were ordered at Avranches and Pontorson for service from July 8 to September 30, 1429 "sans avoir paiement de leurs gaiges lors que durant ledit temps leur aeste fait certain prest tant en provisions de vivres que en argent par les vicontes d'Avranches et de Coustances." *Ibid.*, pp. 482-483. In fact this was action taken by the local officials at the direction of the bailli of the Cotentin on the analogy of the practices of assignment and requisition already generally in use. (See B. J. H. Rowe, "Discipline in the Norman garrisons under Bedford, 1422-35," *English Historical Review* (1931), XLVI, 194-208, and R. A. Newhall, "Bedford's Ordinance on the Watch of September 1428," *ibid.* (1935), L, 36-60.) It is indicative of the elasticity and efficiency of the administrative system that it could adjust so promptly to an emergency. The force recruited for defending Evreux and the "pays denviron" was paid in money for June and July, but was then retained on a new indenture for three months, to be paid in cash for the first half month, with pay for the second half "prendroit en vivres sur le pays par lordonnance de Justice et par la main du viconte dudit lieu d'Evreux. — Et pour les deux autres moys il en seroit paye sur les appatis quil feroit et qui seroient fais sur le pays obeissant aux ennemis tant et sy avant comme iceulx appatis le porroient porter Et ou cas quilz ne pourroient souffire pour yceulx paier ce qui en Resteroit lui seroit paye en vivres comme dit est par la main dudit viconte." Bib. Nat., fr. 4488, pp. 493-494. A similar arrangement was made for Gamaches on the Picard frontier. *Ibid.*, p. 522. In the indenture for this last (Aug. 31, 1429) monthly muster before the constable of Gamaches was specified. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11637. Indenture with Fastolf (Aug. 29, 1429) for a large *creue* at Vernueil specified payment "des finances et Revenues des tailles aides et appatiz venans audit lieu de Verneul," with the first month's pay in provisions "qui prins seront sur les parroisses et villages du pays — lesquelz baillez et delivrez leur seront apries Raisonnable par les Gens et officiers de justice dudit lieu et leur seront Rabatues sur limpost de leurs tailles aides appatiz et choses dessusdictes ou satisfais du sourplus que lesdictes provisions pourront monter." Bib. Nat., fr. 26052, No. 1134. A similar indenture of the same date with Mondot de Lansac at Louviers arranged "a paier des finances venans et yssans des appatis forfaictures et confiscacions des nobles et non nobles qui environ ledit mois daoust se absenterent et allerent hors dicelle ville de Louviers et de la viconte de Pont del Arche demourez en lobeissance des ennemis." *Ibid.*, fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 78. In these cases the system of mustering continued without interruption with one exception.

possible the utilization of the fugitive forces from Patay in a way best conducive to the maintenance of the English hold upon Normandy, which was endangered more from local surprise or coup than from an enemy army in the field. That it was regarded as a temporary expedient, or as an arrangement more readily adjustable to changing circumstances, is indicated by the fact that the *creues*, generally speaking, were on a monthly basis rather than a quarterly one like the garrisons. Even when a *creue* was retained for a quarter the commissioners of array were ordered to take monthly musters.²⁸³

All of this reflects a situation requiring still further supervision and control over details, notably more careful designation as to mounted and unmounted soldiers ultimately leading to a differentiation between the men who were essentially for garrison duty behind walls and those organized in each fortress for special field service, and a definite assertion of the authority to increase or diminish the size of any garrison, when necessary, despite the terms of the indenture. These arrangements were called for by a state of affairs in Normandy much less satisfactory than the one prevailing in the 1420's.

²⁸³ Aug. 29, 1429. Bib. Nat., fr. 26052, No. 1132. This is for a *creue* at Alençon. There are muster rolls under this commission for 12 October and 12 November. *Ibid.*, fr. 25768, Nos. 424, 432. The regular garrison was mustered 22 October. *Ibid.* No. 427. For Feb. 4, 1430 n.s. there is a muster roll for Caen of both garrison and *creue* without distinction. Bib. de Caen, MSS Mancel XVI. 39. For the *creue* and garrison at Carentan see special warrant for *creue*, Sept. 29, 1429 (*ibid.* XXVI. Bourdet, section 122); quittance for *creue* for first month, March 24, 1430 n.s. (Bib. Nat., P.O. 462, Bourdet, No. 15); ditto for garrison, same date (*ibid.*, Clairambault 142, p. 2905, No. 75). This indicates somewhat the increased complication of two systems of military administration. The increased number of warrants, commissions, musters, and quittances was a complication in itself.

A less pacified country-side and a more active partisan warfare of raids and surprises required a more elastic control by the central authority over the English forces distributed over the duchy.²⁸⁴ A more explicit stipulation as to mounted and unmounted men, with the proviso that the former are to hold themselves always in readiness to take the field, appears in the indentures made in October 1429 immediately after the crisis of the summer and early fall had passed.²⁸⁵ Five years later some of the indentures included arrangements for special field forces, mustering apart from the ordinary garrison, but under the same captain. This may have been peculiar to places on the frontier.²⁸⁶ At about the

²⁸⁴ There is a commission of array, Jan. 27, 1430 n.s., for a large force at Gournay "de nouvel ordonnes pour tenir les champs et entendre a Repulser les ennemis soubz le gouvernement de mons^r Emond de Beaufort Conte de Mortaing oultre les soixante hommes darmes et neuf vings archiers qui ordonnes lui sont es garnisons de Gisors, Gournay et Neufchastel." Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 67. Again in 1435 the authorities resorted to the use of *creues*, and a commission of array of May 28, 1435 mentions a large one at Neufchâtel "pour aidier a Resister aux entreprises des adversaires et empeschier quilz ne courent ou dommagent le pais de Caux." *Ibid.*, fr. 26059, No. 2536.

²⁸⁵ Oct. 26, 1429, see indentures for Carentan (*ibid.*, fr. 26052, No. 1158), Charlemesnil (*ibid.* No. 1154), Harfleur (Arch. de la Seine Inf., occupation anglaise, Guerre, M); Oct. 30, Pont del Arche (Bib. Nat., fr. 26052, No. 1160); March 15, 1430 n.s., Avranches (Arch. de la Manche, A. supplement 3878, No. 3899). The commission of array, April 7, 1430 n.s., for Avranches and Tombelaine makes distinction in this respect. Bib. Nat., P.O. 1487, Harpeley, section 33617, No. 14.

²⁸⁶ Oct. 8, 1434, indenture for Arques (Arch. de la Seine Inf., occupation anglaise, Guerre, M); Oct. 20, Gisors (Bib. Nat., fr. 26058, No. 2372), Pontoise (*ibid.* No. 2385). Commissions of array for Alençon (Nov. 4, 1434. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1141), Vire (Jan. 25, 1435 n.s. Bib. Nat., fr. 26059, No. 2446), Neufchâtel (Jan. 29, 1435 n.s. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6873), Vernueil (March 4, 1435 n.s. Arch. de l'Eure, B 135, and Oct. 27, 1435. Arch. Nat., K 64, No. 1¹⁸), Pont del Arche (April 27, 1435 n.s. Brit. Mus.,

same time or even earlier more frequent mustering, suggestive of an extension of practices previously applied to *creues* and field armies, begins to appear.²⁸⁷ As early as 1427 the central administration had become aware of the need for asserting its right to increase or diminish garrisons in frontier fortresses, where further conquest was expected. Salisbury's indenture as captain of Meulan (Sept. 22, 1427) has a clause to the effect that if, during the year, the enemy frontier is pushed farther away the Regent may reduce the garrison in agreement with the captain,²⁸⁸ an arrangement which permitted the government to reopen the question and presumably

Add. Ch. 1023), Exmes (July 26, 1435. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6884), and Poissy-St. Germain (Nov. 16, 1435. Bib. Nat., fr. 26060, No. 2674) distinguish between the men "ordonnez avoir et tenir en la dicte place — pour la seurte sauvegarde et deffense dicelle" and those "ordonnez tant pour lagarde deladite place comme pour tenir les champs et sieges," and direct the commissioners to muster these groups separately.

²⁸⁷ Commissions of array for Dreux (April 27, 1431. Bib. Nat., fr. 26054, No. 1568), Avranches (June 18, 1432, *ibid.*, fr. 26055, No. 1846), Gaillard (Sept. 24, 1432. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11777), and Domfront (Nov. 27, 1432, *ibid.* 11786) empower the commissioners to muster the garrison "pour ce present quartier dan avec Reveues de mois en mois durant ledit quartier." See also for Honfleur (Dec. 14, 1432. Bib. Nat., fr. 26056, No. 1972), Pont del Arche (Jan. 13, 1434 n.s. *ibid.*, fr. 26057, No. 2208), and Essay (Feb. 22, 1434 n.s. *ibid.* No. 2236). Stipulation that musters shall be taken monthly or quarterly appears in indentures for Neufchâtel (May 16, 1434. *ibid.*, P.O. 2787, Talbot, section 62000, No. 9), St. Lô (Oct. 29, 1435, *ibid.*, fr. 26060, No. 2660), and for the seneschal's retinue (Nov. 10, 1436. Arch. de la Seine Inf., occupation anglaise, (Travaux) Scales). Indentures for Le Crotoy (Nov. 22, 1435. P.R.O., Ex. Accts. E 101/71, 3, No. 892), and Caudebec (Jan. 7, 1436 n.s. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11008) stipulate for musters as often as demanded: one for Exmes (Nov. 10, 1436, *ibid.* 130) mentions only the usual quarterly muster. There is nothing to show that anything was done with the authority to take musters more frequently than before.

²⁸⁸ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7945.

to make a new indenture if Salisbury was willing. There is a similar passage in the indenture made in the next year with Lord Scales for Pontorson.²⁸⁹ But in 1430, when the results of the preceding year had become apparent, the authorities began to write into all the indentures a clause to the effect "et pourra le Roy nostre dit s^r ou sondit conseil acroistre ou diminuer toutteffoys que bon leur semblera ledit nombre de gens en le faisant savoir ung mois par avant audit chevalier capitaine ou son lieutenant en icelle place — et se il nest de ce content pourra commectre et ordonner ung autre capt^{ne} en ladit place dedans ung moys apres son dit refus."²⁹⁰ The exercise of this authority might, on occasion, work hardship if the captain was not adequately informed of an order of diminution or if he had already paid his retinue before the authorities reduced its size.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ Sept. 18, 1428. Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 1462, No. 131.

²⁹⁰ Sept. 12, 1430, indentures for Arques (Bib. Nat., fr. 26053, No. 1399), and Caudebec (Arch. de la Seine Inf., occupation anglaise, Guerre, R); Sept. 20, 1430, for Honfleur (Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 97); Dec. 7, 1430 for Argentan (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 378). It might be argued with respect to the first three of these, that this new arrangement was due to the fact that these were for three years instead of the customary one; the Honfleur indenture with Cardinal Beaufort states that the question of diminution shall be raised at the end of the first year. But the assertion of the power to diminish becomes general from this date.

²⁹¹ Warrant of Jan. 23, 1437 n.s. explains the case of Hugh Stanlaw, captain of Vernueil, whose retinue of over three hundred men had been reduced by 25 per cent for the quarter June 29–Sept. 28, 1436. The captain asserted that he had not been informed of the diminution, because he was so busy serving in the field with forces relieving Le Crottoy and recovering Ivry. The treasurer is ordered to get certificates from the captain and from the controller, to the effect that they had not been informed, and to pay the captain for the number of men he had maintained "non obstant la dicte ordonnance et Restrinction." (Bib. Nat., P.O. 2727, Stanlawe, section 60870, No. 13). Similar warrant for Sir William Oldhall, captain of Essay,

In 1435 the office of seneschal of Normandy was revived and Lord Scales appointed to the position. The extent, however, to which this was a return to the military administration of Oldhall, Woodville and Luterell is very obscure and open to considerable doubt. It is suggested that this was a move connected with the crisis produced by the English defeat at Gerberoy and the death of the Earl of Arundel, and by the French capture of St. Denis. Scales first appears with his new title as organizer and director of the forces assembling to recover the latter place,²⁹² and he functions chiefly as a

indicates that some general "moderacion et diminucion — du nombre de gens de guerre estans a noz soldees en telles et semblables gardes et capitaineries" had been made in that quarter. Sir William also pleaded ignorance and gave certificate May 14, 1437. Arch. Nat., K 64, Nos. 10²⁷, 12. That this power was exercised as a means of shifting soldiers to points where they were needed appears from a warrant of Aug. 29, 1437, explaining that a *creue* for Gaillard had been ordered "en diminucion du nombre qui ordonne estoit avant ledit moys de Janvier en garnison de notre ville d'Alencon pour ce que audit lieu de Gaillard il estoit plus neccessaire que audit lieu d'Alencon." In this case the receiver-general was refusing to pay for the *creue*. Bib. Nat., fr. 26063, No. 3272. Another warrant, March 23, 1437 n.s., describes how William Ecton, captain of Ste. Katherine de Rouen, had a retinue of ten mounted lances and ninety archers "laquelle charge nous aions diminuee au commencement du mois de Juillet derrenier passe au nombre de huit lances acheval et trente huit archiers. Et en la fin dudit mois de Juillet fu de Rechief diminuee par nous a cinq lances acheval et vint cinq archiers Et ainsi a este entretenue par ledit Ecton jusques en la fin du mois de decembre derrenier passe Et combien que icellui Ecton ait fait son devoir de entretenir lesdiz charges alui baillees pour tout ledit temps ou lui a fait Rabaiz des paiement et deniers alui deubz et sediz gens du tiers du Quartier fini ala Saint Michiel derrenierement passee non obstant ce que icellui Ecton ait entierement paieiz sediz gens pour tout ledit quarter." Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 140.

²⁹² Gerberoy was fought May 7, 1435. Arundel died and St. Denis was surprised in June 1435. The earliest mention of Lord Scales as seneschal is in a receipt given by him June 28, 1435 for artillery to be used in recovering

military leader in the field from that time on, more important than a mere captain but something less than a royal lieutenant-general. There are a few records of his participating, in person or by deputy, in the business of mustering, but these are confined to the year 1435-36.²⁹³ Although the surviving documents for the following period are only a fraction of the whole record, yet they are sufficiently numerous and heterogeneous to make it hard to believe that if this official played any real part in administration, apart from activities of his field commands, some small evidence of it would not appear. Possibly, in addition to the added dignity, the annual salary of 1600 l. t.²⁹⁴ made the revived office an attractive reward for an energetic military leader, but no record of payment during the period of this study has survived.

St. Denis. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6880. For July 5, 1435 there is record of pay to a messenger sent to the seneschal. Bib. Nat., fr. 26059, No. 2563. The Avranches *contrerolle* for the summer quarter notes the departure on 21 July of part of the garrison going at the seneschal's orders for the recovery of St. Denis. Arch. de la Manche, A. supplement 3878, No. 3895. On the previous day the seneschal himself set out from Domfront, of which place he was also captain. Domfront *contrerolle*. Bib. Nat., fr. 25772, No. 956.

²⁹³ Nov. 5, 1435 the garrisons of Rouen town and castle mustered before Lord Scales "gouverneur de la basse marche et seneschal de Normandie" in the presence of many notables. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1460; Bib. Nat., Clairambault 144, p. 3103, No. 98. About a fortnight before (Oct. 20) the bailli's retinue at Rouen had been mustered by the seneschal's lieutenant, Thomas de Clamorgan. *Ibid.* 198, p. 8154, No. 20. The latter mustered the Caen garrison Nov. 15, 1435. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1153. On July 28, 1436 officers under commission from the seneschal mustered the retinues of Sir William Oldhall, bailli of Alençon and captain of Essay. Bib. Nat., fr. 25773, No. 1141. I have found no other mention of mustering activities.

²⁹⁴ Under Woodville and Oldhall the seneschal received wages and "regards" equalling 1617 l. 15 s. 6 d. t. a year. Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, p. 162; fr. 4491, f. 7^{vo}.

In 1436 the Duke of York came to Normandy to deal with a state of affairs much worsened by Bedford's death and by the French diplomatic and military successes of the previous year. By the end of the autumn he was attempting to take a survey of his military resources by a simultaneous muster of all garrisons, and to guarantee its honesty by emphasizing old oaths and imposing new ones. A series of commissions were issued Nov. 22, 1436 with the special injunction to the mustering officers "nous voulons et vous mandons que vous en-votre personne jurez sur les sains evangilles de dieu es main du Bailly ou viconte plus prouchain du lieu seront faictes lesdit monstres que bien loyalment et veritablement exercerez votre presente commission par la maniere dessusdite, Et que avant lesdit monstres ferez jurer ledit cappi^{ne} ou son lieutenant en voz mains que loyalment et veritablement monstrera sesdit gens sans y comectre fraude decepcion faulte poste ne tromperie." There is also an admonition to the commissioners, more formal and menacing than anything previous, to take muster on the designated date, and to pass or reject soldiers without fear, hate or fraud.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁵ For this date there are commissions for Touque (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7987), Caen (*ibid.* 7988), Vernueil (*ibid.* 131), Domfront (Bib. Nat., fr. 26062, No. 3011), Tombelaine (*ibid.*, No. 3013), and Argentan (*ibid.*, No. 3010). The forms were made out with blank spaces and the names of the commissioners, the captain, and the date of muster were written in afterwards. There was also space to write in the size of the garrison, but this was filled with the phrase "jusques a tel nombre . . . (sic) que son endenture etc.," indicating that this detail had not been checked. There is also the clause "Toutesfoys nous entendons que pour chascune lance a cheval recevez trois archers a cheval et pour chascune lance a pie trois archiers a pie." In the special muster of 1424 an oath had been demanded of the commissioners. See above p. 28.

The original order was that muster was to be 9 December, but this was postponed by special orders until 18 December, and again postponed until 27 December.²⁹⁶ These orders required additional documentation for each muster to the extent of two certificates like the following:

A Tous ceulx qui ces presentes lettres verront Richard Haryngton chlr baillj de Caen salut. Savoir faisons a vous les

²⁹⁶ The commission for Touque (see above) designates 9 December; all the others are for 18 December except Domfront, which is 27 December. Yet these are all dated 22 November. A warrant, Feb. 14, 1437 n.s., states that Sir Robert Roos took possession as a new captain at Gaillard Dec. 5, 1436, to be paid from first muster "qui se devoient prendre et Recevoir le neuf^{me} jour dudit moys de decembre le quel jour fut par nous et par noz lettres closes sur ce faictes prorogue jusques au dixhuit^{me} jour dudit moys et depuis par noz autres lettres closes jusques au vingt septiesme jour dudit moys." Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 12653. This same document shows that the routine mustering under treasury commissions continued without reference to this special muster, because the Gaillard garrison actually mustered before treasury deputies on 25 December. A muster roll for Vernueil dated Dec. 18, 1436 has no certificate as to oaths and may well be a routine muster. Arch. de l'Eure, B 135. On this last date a messenger left Rouen with letters from the Council sealed with the privy seal of the Chancellor of France addressed to the captains, lieutenants and commissioners of array for Cherbourg, Coutances, St. Lô, Caen, Régnéville, Pont d'Ouve, Carentan, Tombelaine, Avranches, Bayeux and Touque, "icelles lettres faisons mencion que lesdiz monstres fussent continues a prendre et Recevoir jusques au xxviii^e jour du moys de decembre." Certificate of payment to the poursuivant, Jan. 5, 1437 n.s. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11931. Only one muster roll of Dec. 27, 1436 survives. It shows the Falaise garrison with more than half the lances deficient in armor. There is certification as to the lieutenant's oath. Bib. Nat., fr. 26293, No. 421. This same garrison had already mustered on 4 December. No note was made then about deficiencies in armor. *Ibid.*, fr. 25773, No. 1152. Quittance for Lisieux, March 8, 1437 n.s., refers to the muster of 27 December. *Ibid.*, fr. 26062, No. 3119. Aside from the commissions and certificates the only other reference to this special muster is a letter of relief, Feb. 18, 1437 n.s., for the Argentan controller who missed this muster by being sick in Caen. *Ibid.*, fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 139.

tresorier et Recepveur generaulx de Normendie et autres a qui il appartient que au jour duy xxvii^e jour de decembre lan de grace mil cccc trente six Jehan Randulf viconte de Caen et Eustasse Quemuet notre lieut. Commis a Recepvoir les monstres des gens de mons^r de Scales seneschal de Normendie ont fait le serement en noz mains que bien deuement et loyaulment ilz prendront et Recepveront les monstres de mondit s^r de Scales sans aucune fraulde ou decepcion y commectre pour quelque amour faveur ne craincte de quelque personne que sesoit le tout joux et selon ce quil est contenue en la comission sur ce faicte. Donne a Caen soubz le petit seel aux causes dudit bailliage en lan et jour dessusdiz. QUEMUET.²⁹⁷

A Tous ceulx qui ces presentes lettres verront Jehan Gourdell viconte dAvranches et Jehan Bovy contreroulleur dela garnison dudit lieu dAvranches commissaires du Roy notres^r en ceste partie salut. Savoir faisons que aujourduy Noble homme Jehan Lampet escuier lieut. dAvranches pour hault et puissant seigneur mons^r le Conte de Suffolk cappitaine dudit lieu dAvranches nous a jure et afferme sus saintes evangilles de dieu et en nos mains que les gens darmes et de trait de la garnison dudit lieu dAvranches soubz la Retenue de mondits^r le Conte dont monstres seront faictes ce jourduy devant nous que bien leallement et veritablement il fera monstres desdiz gens darmes et de trait le tout selon le contenu des lettres du Roy notres^r Sans quelxconques decepcion fraude barat ou mal engin. En tesmoing desquelles choses nous avons mis adces presentes nos saings manuelz le xxvii^{me} jour de decembre lan mil cccc et xxxvi. Donne audit lieu dAvranches soubz le seel aux causes de la viconte dudit lieu dAvranches en lan et jour dessusdit. J. GOURDEL J. BOVY ²⁹⁸

The requirement of an oath from the commissioners of array applied only to this special muster, but it became customary for the commissioners hereafter to

²⁹⁷ Arch. du Calvados, F Danquin 82.

²⁹⁸ Bib. Nat., fr. 26062, No. 3048.

certify at the bottom of the muster roll that they had sworn the captain on the gospels preliminary to taking muster. The exacting of an oath from the captain had been part of the form of muster specifically referred to in earlier commissions.²⁹⁹ There is no particular reason for assuming that the practice was suspended when the treasury officials changed the format of the commissions.³⁰⁰ If there had been laxity on this point the treasury sought to correct it by enjoining the commissioners, by the loyalty which they owed the king, and on their honor, "que icelles monstres vous voyez et recevez loyalment deuement et prouffitablement pour le Roy nostredit seigneur en passant a icelles ceulx que en vos consciences verrez estre souffisans a passer et non autrement et cassant ceulx que verrez estre a casser et que pour amour crainte ou hayne vous ne dissimulez en aucune maniere," and by adding specific orders about oaths and certificates.³⁰¹ To what degree this increased the central control or made the administration more accurate and efficient may be wondered. To resort to an intensification of oath swearing suggests to the modern mind an element of helplessness in dealing with

²⁹⁹ See above pp. 24, 28, 99.

³⁰⁰ In recording muster at Vernueil, Aug. 31, 1431, the commissioners state that it was made in the presence of Richard Burghil, Arundel's lieutenant, who testified that only the ordinary garrison was included. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11730. Does this unusual note indicate an unusual practice or only a very careful commissioner? An example of the ordinary treasury form issued Nov. 20, 1436, two days before York's special orders, is in *Le Cacheux, Rouen au temps de Jeanne d'Arc*, pp. 313-314.

³⁰¹ Commission for Rouen, July 26, 1437. *Ibid.*, pp. 326-328. Other examples: Arch. Nat., K 64, No. 10¹⁶; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11933, 11957; Bib. Nat., fr. 26062, No. 3187, P.O. 3047, Warwick, section 67667, No. 6. For certificates see Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1173, 1182.

realities. By the latter part of 1438 the treasury had dropped these clauses from its commissions and demanded only that its commissioners report on the nationality of the soldiers.³⁰²

At the same time that the Duke of York was ordering his survey of the garrisons, he was making arrangements for only three quarters of the fiscal year 1436-37 by making indentures to run only until the end of June 1437 instead of the usual Michaelmas to Michaelmas agreements.³⁰³ The reason for this is obscure. Whether it was the uncertainty of the situation and the possible hope of negotiating peace or truce with France, or whether it was the Duke's unwillingness to continue in Normandy beyond the term of his year, which expired in April ³⁰⁴ i.e. within the quarter March 30-June 29,

³⁰² Dec. 24, 1438, commission for Touque. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6931. The captain's name and the size of the garrison were no longer included.

³⁰³ Nov. 10, 1436; indentures from Michaelmas past to next St. John's day: Mante (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11013), Régnéville (Bib. Nat., fr. 26061, No. 2993), Vernon (*ibid.*, No. 2994), Gaillard (*ibid.*, No. 2995); Warrants of the same date: Vernon (*ibid.*, No. 2986), Gaillard (*ibid.*, No. 2990), Argentan (*ibid.*, No. 2992), Essay (*ibid.*, No. 2989), Exmes (*ibid.*, No. 2985), Tombelaine (*ibid.*, fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 136), Dreux (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11928), seneschal's retinue (Arch. de la Seine Inf., occupation anglaise, (Travaux) Scales). These stipulated for monthly or quarterly musters, but there is nothing to indicate a change from the usual quarterly practice during this period. These arrangements created an uncertainty of tenure, which is reflected in Suffolk's commission (Sept. 30, 1436) to his lieutenant at Avranches for the same limited period. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1160. The date of this shows that this period had been decided upon six weeks before the indentures were made. In August 1437 Suffolk reappointed his lieutenant from June 1437 until Michaelmas 1438. Bib. Nat., P.O. 2318, de la Pole, section 52328, No. 14.

³⁰⁴ April 7, 1437, the Council in England sent a letter to York directing him to stay in France until his successor was appointed. Ten days later arrangements with Warwick were completed. *Ordinances*, V, 6, 15.

1437, so that he made military arrangements only for his own period of service, or whether it was merely a phase of an almost insoluble financial problem, these possibilities need not concern our study of administrative devices. The indenture-making in the fall of 1436 certainly coincided with the mission of Louis of Luxembourg, Chancellor of France, to England to canvass the situation with the king's advisers in London. Affairs in England, however, dragged, and the indentures ran out. June 20, 1437 York addressed letters to all the Norman captains directing them to continue their retinues for a month after the end of their indentures, and to have the musters for that period taken by the commissioners who took the previous musters.³⁰⁵ A month later, 24 July, similar letters requested and directed the captains, while awaiting the Chancellor's return, to maintain their companies according to their indentures for August.³⁰⁶ Since the arrival of Warwick, York's successor, was long delayed, still further orders went on 1 September to the captains, directing "que ilz entretenissent les gens d'armes et de trait de leurs charges et retenues ordinaires pour ce present moiz de Septembre ala sauvegarde desdit lieux," just as they had done for July and August.³⁰⁷ And again at the end of the month

³⁰⁵ Stevenson, II. 289 (Vire), 291 (Tombelaine). Ramsay's comment, "The Duke of York again had to beg his subordinates to remain at their posts." *Lancaster and York*, 2 vols. (London, 1892) I. 497, note 3, by ignoring the relation of these letters to the ordinary administrative system, creates a false impression.

³⁰⁶ Bib. Nat., fr. 26054, Nos. 1535, 1536 (Argentan and Rouen). There is no year on these letters but it is obvious that they belong in 1437. The Chancellor was back in France in time to be enthroned at Rouen as archbishop Aug. 7, 1437. *Gallia Christiana* (Paris, 1874), XI. col. 89.

³⁰⁷ Sept. 16, 1437, payment to the messenger sent from Rouen to Vire,

when the new fiscal year was about to begin the following was dispatched:

De par le duc dYork lieutenant-general et gouverneur de france et Normendie. Treschier et bien ame Pource que de present sommes grandement occupez pour le fait du secours quil est neccessite de faire tresbrief aceulx dedens les ville et chastel de Monstereau lesquelz sont ja fort contrains par les ennemis qui tiennent le siege devant eulx ne povons presentement et jusques a ce quil aura pleu a dieu que le dit secours soit fait entendre a autre chose Sei vous prions Requerons et chargeons de par mons^r le Roy et nous que tout les gens de guerre que avez tant a cause de votre Bailliage de Caen que de votre capp^{tie} dArgenten vous continuez et entretenez pour ung mois entier en tel et pareil estat et nombre comme avez fait pour le mois derrenier passe Et en faisant a ceste cause monstres pardevant les commissaires qui vous ont estez ordonnez pour le temps passe. Ces presentes avecques icelles monstres vous vauldront garant pour ledit mois. Treschier et bien ame notre S^r soit garde de vous. Escript a Rouen le xxviii^e jour de Septembre. (In another hand) Lan mil iiie^e xxxvii le vii^e jour dOctobre devant Jehan Biart tabelion dArgenten fut present Monceiox poursuivant darmes le quel tesmoing que en jour dier il avoit baille a honnoure escuier Guibon Raddeclief connestable dArgenten les lettres dont dessus est fait mencion. Tesmoing mon signe manuel cy mis lan et jour dessus diz. J. BIART³⁰⁸

All of this injected elements of uncertainty and confusion into the system. Mustering in the quarter June—

Avranches and Tombelaine. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6915. Presumably by that date he had returned to Rouen. The Tombelaine letter is in Stevenson, II. 293.

³⁰⁸ Bib. Nat., fr. 25774, No. 1246. This is on paper. It is published in E. Cosneau, *Le Connétable de Richemont* (Paris, 1886), p. 562. Montereau had been besieged since 24 August. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Tuetey ed. Paris 1881), p. 333.

September was tripled merely to maintain the status quo, and, in some instances at least, this was carried on into the next quarter,³⁰⁹ while the transition from York's governorship to Warwick's took place. A new detail with respect to rebates was injected into the situation, which must have increased the complexities of treasury administration and the irritation resulting from pay withheld without effecting any great saving. This was an insistence that new recruits could not be listed for pay until they had made first muster, an application to individuals of the recognized rule for a retinue when a captain and company served under an indenture. But now there were no indentures, only letters of continuation with monthly musters. If in one month the muster came early and in the next one late newcomers joining up shortly after the earlier muster might find themselves serving over fifty days and then being refused their pay.³¹⁰ This practice did not originate at this time,³¹¹

³⁰⁹ Muster rolls for this period are marked with the month on the back. In some cases the monthly series has been preserved. Commissions of array direct that muster be taken for a particular month. Quittances mention the dates when musters were taken. Muster rolls for July, August, September 1437 at St. Lô (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6912, 6914, 6916), at Vernon (Bib. Nat., fr. 25773, Nos. 1199, 1202; fr. 25774, No. 1244): for October, November, December at Rouen castle (*ibid.*, No. 1260; Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 192; Bib. de Rouen, MS Mart. 198, No. 17), at Caen (Bib. Nat., fr. 25774, No. 1259;

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Arch. du Calvados, F Danquin 117; Bib. de Caen, MSS Mancel XVI. 43): for August at Pont d'Ouve (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11955). Commissions: *ibid.* 6913, 191; Bib. Nat., fr. 25773, No. 1198. Quittances: *ibid.* Clairambault 168, p. 5291, No. 70; 171, p. 5479, No. 3; 190, p. 7287, No. 17; 206, Nos. 94-95; fr. 26064, No. 3436; P.O. 2659, Scales, section 59019, No. 10.

³¹⁰ Quittances covering the last half of 1437 show this. See preceding note, also Bib. Nat., Clairambault 158, p. 4305, No. 1; 190, p. 7289, No. 20; 200, p. 8387, Nos. 103-104.

³¹¹ Quittance for Carentan, Sept. 25, 1436, covering April-June and based

and it was applied again at later dates,³¹² but most of the surviving record applies to the last half of 1437.

Further glimpse of a confused state of affairs is afforded by a letter of relief, March 2, 1438 n.s., which summarizes the petition of John Hastings, captain of St. Lô, who reports that about Nov. 22, 1437, when he learned of Warwick's arrival in Normandy as lieutenant-general, and of York's approaching departure for England, he left St. Lô for Rouen "pour savoir du fait de sa cappitainerie et sil y auriot aucune mutacion ou continuacion pour endenter de nouvel pour icelle cappitainerie pour ce que ses endenteures estoient faillies." He took two archers with him and an additional escort of nine archers as far as Caen. The former, with the captain, did not return until about 1 January, being absent from two monthly reviews;³¹³ the latter were back at St. Lô within two days. It was against the treasury rebates on the archers' wages that the captain successfully petitioned.³¹⁴ By the end of December 1437 Hastings had made new indenture as captain until Michaelmas 1438,³¹⁵ but within two months he had to return to Rouen to settle his accounts for the third

on monthly musters. Bib. Nat., P.O. 557, Burdet, section 12579, No. 14. Another for Vernon, Feb. 14, 1437 n.s. for an irregular period, Sept. 29-Nov. 24, 1436. Arch. de l'Eure, B 137. See above note 155.

³¹² Avranches quittance, May 6, 1439, covering the last quarter of 1438 (Bib. Nat., fr. 26065, No. 3776); same for Caudebec, March 14, 1442 n.s. for the last quarter of 1441 (*ibid.*, Clairambault 160, p. 4553, No. 55).

³¹³ These were November 25 and December 27, 1437. The muster rolls are *ibid.*, fr. 25774, No. 1270 and Arch. de la Manche, A. supplement 3888.

³¹⁴ Bib. Nat., fr. 26064, No. 3423: the letter of expedition, March 3, 1438 n.s., is in Arch. de la Seine Inf., occupation anglaise, Guerre. H.

³¹⁵ Warrant, Dec. 29, 1437. Bib. Nat., fr. 26063, No. 3373.

quarter of 1437,³¹⁶ on which occasion presumably he presented the petition referred to above and got his letter of relief. He also undertook to avoid similar difficulty by getting the treasurers to write the commissioners of array at St. Lô explaining that Hastings and three archers cannot be present at the muster ordered for Feb. 29, 1438 n.s., but directing the commissioners to count them as present inasmuch as they have mustered at Rouen before the treasurer.³¹⁷ For some reason Hastings did not carry out his indenture, being superseded April 1, 1438 by Sir Thomas Kingston, but within three weeks the latter took sick and 12 May Warwick had to make a new indenture for St. Lô with Sir John Robessart, who took possession and made first muster 28 May.³¹⁸

The efforts of the treasury to make the captains conform to an honest administrative system could, on occasion, become entangled with the necessities of a military situation especially for forces in the field. Illustration of this appears as early as 1431 during the operations against Louviers. Complaints from the captains are echoed in a royal letter to the receiver-general which reads:

De la partie des cappitaines du nombre des quatre cens lances par nous ordonnez estre et tenir siege devant notre ville de

³¹⁶ He gave quittance Feb. 28, 1438 n.s. *Ibid.*, Clairambault 169, p. 5315, No. 18.

³¹⁷ Feb. 27, 1438 n.s. Arch. de la Manche, A. supplement 3883.

³¹⁸ St. Lô *contrerolles* show Kingston's short captaincy and Robessart's taking possession. Bib. Nat., fr. 25774, Nos. 1325-1326. The latter's first muster is *ibid.* No. 1327. May 9, 1438, Hastings gave quittance for the last quarter of 1437. Arch. de la Manche, A. supplement 3883. Had the need for petitioning against treasury rebates delayed this accounting? May 12, 1438, warrant and commission of array for Robessart were issued. Bib. Nat., fr. 26064, Nos. 3467, 3469.

Loviers occuppee par noz ennemis a noz gaiges oultre le nombre des gens que avons fait venir de notre pays d'Angleterre nous a este expose que apres ce quilz ont este assie audit siege ilz ont envoye par aucuns de leurs archiers et varletz grant partie de leurs chevaulx par ce quilz ne pvoient vivre audit siege ne environ lesquels varletz et archiers sont et ont este neccessaires demourer es lieux ou ilz ont envoye vivre leursdiz chevaulx pour la garde et seurte diceulx parquoy iceulx archiers nont peu ne pourront estre ne comparoient aux monstres faictes et qui pourront estre faictes pour le second moys dicellui siege et sont marquez par les commissaires qui ont prins et prennent icelles monstres estre avec lesdiz chevaulx pour laquelle cause vous avez differe et differez de leur faire paiement pour iceulx estans avec lesdiz chevaulx pour icellui second moys qui est et seront en leur grant preiudice et dommage.³¹⁹

It is not hard to imagine the arguments of the treasury paymaster, that men ordered to serve at the siege of Louviers must be at the siege and not off somewhere else with a lot of horses, if they expected to be kept on the pay roll.

In York's time the military situation still further complicated the financial administration as applied to garrison contingents called into the field, first for the siege of Tancarville and later for the relief of Montereau. In making preparation for the former the Duke made agreement with Talbot that the latter should raise a company of two hundred lances and six hundred archers, and that York would call out an additional force from the garrisons of three hundred lances and nine hundred archers.³²⁰ Preliminary orders went out early in July

³¹⁹ June 28, 1431. Arch. de l'Eure, B 116. For muster rolls made during this siege with some of the men marked as with the horses see Bib. Nat., fr. 25770, Nos. 605, 606, 608, 612, 617, 621, 622, 629.

³²⁰ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1176.

for the captains to hold themselves in readiness to send men from their garrisons, the time and place to be designated later.³²¹ At the beginning of August the baillis were ordered to proclaim "que les capp^{nes} des garnisons nommes en une cedulle attaches soubz le grant seel de la chancellerie de France asdiz lettres narroient envoie le nombre des gens de guerre desclaires en ladicte cedulle pour estre au vii^e jour dudit mois d'Aoust Receus a monstres a Jumeges et illec souldier pour servir le Roy au siege ordonne estre mis devant Tanquerville sur paine de perdre ung quartier de leurs gaiges du temps passe et inhabilles destre Receus aux gaiges pour ung autre quartier apres et prouchain ensuivant au Regard des deffault." ³²² It should be remembered that none of the captains had indentures for this particular period, merely letters of continuation. This may have contributed to make them less than usually disposed to respond promptly to a summons into the field. The threat of such severe financial penalties suggests that the central authorities regarded the situation as more than ordinarily difficult. Apparently the garrison contingents were given a week's leeway after this last summons in which to muster at Jumièges,³²³ and then Talbot

³²¹ This is mentioned in a warrant of March 26, 1438 n.s. *Ibid.* 6907. Very possibly this is referred to in the receipt of July 12, 1437 given by a poursuivant for wages of a journey beginning 6 July when he left Rouen "et chevauchie hastivement jour et nuit au Neufchastel et dillec a Gournay Gisors porter lettres closes de par mons^r le duc de York aux capp^{nes} desdiz lieux touchans — le fait de certaine armee ordonnee estre mis sus pour lutilite et prouffit dicellui seigneur." *Ibid.* 11952.

³²² Aug. 11, 1437, a messenger was paid for carrying letters from Falaise to various sergeants embodying royal letters of Aug. 2, 1437 addressed to the bailli of Caen. Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 21289, No. 136.

³²³ Muster rolls and quittances show musters of companies drawn from

was empowered to recruit men in place of the garrison contingents "qui ont deffailli de servir et venir audit siege ainsi que mande leur estoit," substituting, if necessary, three archers for a man-at-arms.³²⁴ Consequently, when the contingent from Avranches arrived at Jumièges, Talbot told them that they were too late, the garrison quota or its substitute was filled, and they were sent away. The treasury then proceeded to exact the penalty for default. Against this the lieutenant of Avranches petitioned on the ground that the bailli of the Cotentin had sent orders for proclaiming mobilization on 6 August and that it was impossible to get from Avranches to Jumièges by 7 August on such short notice. The actual date of his arrival with the Avranches contingent is omitted, but the orders to the treasury were to make a rebate of only two months' pay if the bailli's letter had actually been as late as alleged.³²⁵

The contingent from Dreux, ten lances and thirty archers, never even started for Jumièges because, as Sir Guillaume du Broullat explained,

en ce temps noz adversaires estoient agrant puissance sur les champs a Chartres et ailleurs pres dudit lieu de Dreux et ne

the garrisons between August 8 and August 13, 1437: Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 1175; Bib. Nat., fr. 26063, Nos. 3255, 3257, 3259; fr. 25773, Nos. 1204-1205; fr. 25774, Nos. 1215, 1253.

³²⁴ There is record of thirty-four lances and seven hundred and four archers recruited under this commission, the equivalent of one hundred and twenty lances and three hundred and sixty archers from the garrisons. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1213-1214. Was it to Talbot's advantage to have these under his commission and indenture instead of being paid by the treasury through the garrison captains? He would be entitled to a third of their gains of war and there may well have been other advantages in being the channel through which a large company was paid.

³²⁵ Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 6907.

savoit len quelle volente ilz avoient lesquelz alerent lors faire degast de vivres devant Montargis et mettre le siege a Nemours et ailleurs et si avoit ledit (Sir Guillaume) au temps dudit siege et avant icellui entreprinse sur laplace et forteresse de Chevreuse occupee lors par nosdiz adversaires laquelle durant ledit siege il prinst et gaingna a ses despens parquoy lui convint mettre ses gens en deux parties cestassavoir ausdiz lieux de Chevreuse et de Dreux et avec ce estoit oudit temps cheu bien quinze toizes de la muraille du chastel dudit lieu de Dreux rasee par le pic par la vielleste et ancienne dicelle muraille et pour ce convint que ledit (Sir Guillaume) feist tresgrant garde audit lieu de Dreux principalement alendroict dicelle muraille abatue et quil entendist a icelle faire refaire et meure sus et aussi doubtoit ledit (Sir Guillaume) que aloccasion de certains prisonniers noz adversaires lors estans audit lieu de Dreux qui furent prins par aucuns dela garnison dicellui lieu de Dreux iceulx adversaires aians saufconduit de notre treschier et ame cousin le Sire de Faucomberge dont protes est entre les parties et pour lesquelz notredit cousin navoit pas en grace plusieurs dela dite garnison debat et grant noise se fussent meuz silz fussent alez audit siege entre ceulx dicelle garnison et autres ainsi que autrefois avoit este fait en assemblee de gens de guerre tellement que pour les causes dessusdites pour plusieurs voyages par lui faiz a Mante et ailleurs par notre ordonnance et autres choses longues a declarees ledit (Sir Guillaume) nenvoya acunes gens audit siege.

Warwick accepted these extensive explanations to the extent of ordering the receiver-general, who had withheld a quarter's wages for the Dreux soldiers, "que de et sur le rabaiz dessusdit lui sera rendu et restitue la somme de six cens livres tournois et le demourant dicellui rabaiz demourra en notre main pour la paucite de nosdites finances." ³²⁶

³²⁶ Warrant, April 29, 1438. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11992. The total sum involved was 758 l. 6 s. 8 d.t.; quittance, March 13, 1438 n.s. Bib. Nat.

The very disturbed state of the country at this time could further interfere with mobilizing companies from the garrisons. In addition to the force besieging Tancarville it was necessary to call out men for a rendezvous at Bernay on Sept. 1, 1437 to form an expedition under Lord Scales for the relief of Montereau. The garrison of Vernueil was called upon for a company of six lances and eighteen archers "lesquelles — en venant dicelui lieu de Vernueil audit lieu de Bernay recontrerent aucuns de nosdiz ennemis et adversaires qui les destrousserent prindrent une grant partie de leurs chevaulx misdrent aucuns en fuyte et aucuns prinsdrent prisonniers et enmenerent a Chartres et ceulx qui se sauverent retournerent audit lieu de Vernueil parquoy ilz ne peurent estre ne venir en ladicte armee." Penalty for this default was forfeiture of pay for only a month, but even

Clairambault 144, p. 3127, No. 12. Further glimpse of the administrative problems created by York's administration may be observed in a warrant of Feb. 9, 1438 n.s. with respect to this same captain, who made indenture that day for the period Dec. 29–Sept. 29, 1438. In order to avoid difficulties from the treasury about payment from first muster the warrant expressly stipulates payment from Dec. 29, 1437 "non obstant quil ne appaire de la continuacion dudit capp^{ne} ne des gens de sadicte Retenue fors par ladicte indenture et ces presentes seulement lesquelles sont faictes de puis le jour au quel commence ladicte Retenue." Bib. Nat., fr. 26064, No. 3404. This captain had been at Dreux for some seventeen years (muster roll, March 4, 1431 n.s. *ibid.*, fr. 25769, No. 564), during which time his controller uniformly reported no absences or gains of war by this garrison (see above note 146), except such absences as the treasury would mark "Neant." This looks very strange. In July 1431 it had been necessary to send a *creue* to Dreux "pour ce que dicelle est cheu ung penneau de mur environ xii ou quinze toizes au pres des doues." *Ibid.*, fr. 25770, No. 613. On Nov. 1, 1438 the French recovered Dreux and this captain is alleged to have received a large sum for surrendering the place. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, p. 342; Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1881–1891), III. 14.

this was remitted "actendu la dilligence quil fist dy envoyer — et mesmement que ou lieu dicelles — ledit Sire de Scalles ne mist en leur lieu aucunes gens de guerre." ³²⁷

When Warwick, after long delay, finally got across to Normandy the Council in England had already sent after him direction "to make certain commissions in France to take on oone day the monstres of the feld and of the garnisons to thentent that and there be not people sufficient for the feelde that the King myzt in alle haste purveie for men to be send." ³²⁸ William Brugges, Garter King-at-arms, was sent across the Channel "pour avoir la clere congnoissance du nombre des gens darmes et de trait estans a noz gaiges et souldees en noz garnisons et autres Retenues de Normandie et pays de conquete," and to bring back "la desclara-cion desdiz Retenues." ³²⁹ If the London authorities expected this to be accomplished in time to make, as had been customary, early spring indentures for reinforcements to be sent out in the summer of 1438, they were disappointed. Warwick delayed for three months before issuing orders for carrying out this command. Possibly this was due to the need for putting the military system back onto the indenture basis, after six months of mere continuation under York. Commissions of array dated Feb. 13, 1438 n.s. were finally

³²⁷ Bib. Nat., fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 148. No doubt the fact that Lord Scales had not gone to the expense of recruiting other soldiers in place of these men from Vernueil, in contrast with Talbot's action at Tancarville, would impress the treasury officials with the reasonableness of this letter of relief.

³²⁸ Nov. 9, 1437. *Proceedings*, IV, 70.

³²⁹ Bib. Nat., fr. 26064, No. 3468.

drawn up and sent to the various local officials directing them to muster the captains and garrisons according to the numbers called for in their indentures on the last day of February, "Et afin que ledit capp^{ne} ou sondit lieutenant soit plus astraint et obligie a faire son devoir et garder sa loyaulte en ceste partie" to swear them on the gospels to make true muster, and certify that they have been so sworn. For each mounted lance there were to be three mounted archers and for each foot lance three unmounted archers.³³⁰ It might be supposed that previous musters of this sort would have shown how to get the desired results, but this effort was no more successful at first than the earlier ones had been. Messengers with the original commissions were dispatched on or about 16 February,³³¹ but by the first week in March it was apparent that something had gone wrong, for Warwick sent out letters on 9 March ordering that the muster be postponed until 4 April. In less than a fortnight (22 March) new letters postponed it further until 17 April, and on this date muster was taken.³³² The reason

³³⁰ Commissions of this date survive for Gisors (Bib. Nat., P.O. 3047 Warwick, section 67667, No. 6), Gaillard (*ibid.*, fr. nouv. acq. 1482, No. 146) St^e Katherine de Rouen (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 7994), Pont de Seine de Rouen (*ibid.* 11979), and Tancarville (*ibid.* 11978).

³³¹ Payment was made on Feb. 20, 1438 n.s. to the messenger who left Rouen 16 February for Caudebec carrying to various local officials at Caudebec commissions for mustering the Tancarville garrison and the Caudebec garrison. Bib. Nat., fr. 20064, No. 3414.

³³² The Honfleur muster roll, April 17, 1438 n.s., reports on these successive postponements. *Ibid.*, fr. 25774, No. 1318. There are similar references on the rolls from Tancarville (*ibid.*, No. 1320) and Coutances (Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 194). The commissioners at Touque had carried out the original orders, so they report on the April muster roll that the original of their commission of array had been returned with the roll of 28 February. The situa-

given for all this delay was that so many garrisons were in the field.³³³ Meanwhile the London authorities had made arrangements for summer re-enforcements under the Earl of Dorset without waiting for Warwick's report on the forces in Normandy.³³⁴

So far we have been considering the problems of administration aiming to provide the men in authority with accurate information and to enforce the terms of contract between king and captains. In conclusion we may note the similar problem as to contracts between captain and soldiers. The record in such cases, being unofficial and so much more carelessly preserved, is very scant. But interesting surmises are nevertheless possible. In dealing with the matter of discipline the royal authorities had recognized from an early date the need for preventing desertion from the forces in the field, and sought to meet that need by issuing orders to arrest deserters to the port authorities on both sides of the Channel.³³⁵ We cannot say whether such men when

tion at Touque was peculiar in that Thomas Mulso had become lieutenant on 30 March (*Contre-rolle*. Bib. Nat., fr. 25774, No. 1336), and had requested the commissioners on 1 April to take muster. This they did on 18 April attaching Warwick's letters of postponement to the roll in lieu of a commission (*ibid.*, fr. 25773, No. 1184). Evidently the routine mustering under treasury commissions was not interrupted since the Vernueil muster of 17 April was made under treasury commission of 15 April. Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 11988.

³³³ Bib. Nat., fr. 26064, No. 3468. This may refer to the force organized in January 1438 n.s. to relieve Montargis. *Ibid.*, fr. 25774, Nos. 1293-1295.

³³⁴ First retainer with Dorset for a force of three hundred and forty-six lances and one thousand three hundred and fifty archers was paid March 26, 1438 n.s. P.R.O., Issue Roll, 16 Henry VI. Mich. m. 14. Nine days earlier ambassadors had been empowered to treat for peace with France. Calendar of French Rolls, Henry VI. *Deputy Keeper's Report*, vol. XLVIII, p. 322.

³³⁵ Newhall, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-235. The power to arrest was evidently not

apprehended were punished or merely returned to their captains with whom they had made indenture. Soldiers who left one retinue to join another were threatened with imprisonment and confiscation,³³⁶ and this may well have been the penalty customary. But inasmuch as the relationship between captain and soldier was a contract it is interesting to find that some effort was made to enforce the agreement by exacting punitive damages for non-fulfillment at least with respect to first muster. This appears quite clearly in an indenture of Jan. 14, 1440 between Sir James Ormond and James Skidmore, which, after setting forth the terms of the contract in the usual form, concludes "And in cas the seid James Skidmore on his partie wele and truly kepe, observe, and fulfille all manner of covenants and condicions afor seid in the form abovesaid, the seid Sir James granteth by this Indenture that than an obligacion of an C. mark, in which the seid James Skidmore is bound to the seid Sir James, be voide and of no strength And els the seid obligacion abide in his full

inherent in the captain's position, because it was necessary to issue special commissions to certain captains, empowering them to arrest and imprison men who had quitted their companies without leave. The necessity for military discipline as a matter of public concern appears in the Council record respecting Beaufort's army for the Hussite crusade. It is particularly significant that careful note is made that those who join this army for the religious benefits of the crusade, and who thus go without being paid wages, "stande under the lawes, statutes and ordennances to be maad by the con^{bis} and mar^{al} as is abovesaid, as well as thei that shal goo for wages. Considered that sith all be the King's people it is as necc^{ie} to kepe under goode reule and preserve from all meschiefs and inconvenientes oon as other." *Proceedings and Ordinances*, III. 331-332.

³³⁶ May 22, 1421. Rôles de Brèquigny 995.

force and virtue.”³³⁷ In this way the captain had surety from a man-at-arms for the payment of a definite sum in case the agreement was not carried out. That sum, in this case, was more than the wages of the soldiers involved for three quarters of a year.³³⁸ That this was not something new in 1440 may be assumed from record of a suit in 1417, which shows that Mathew Poule bound himself in £100 to Walter Charleton to have John Corin with two archers at Southampton on 1 May to serve for one year over-seas under said Walter.³³⁹

But in both these cases the individual archers are not brought within the scope of the surety. Presumably it would scarcely be worth while to try to deal with them in such fashion. Consequently, the legislation passed by Parliament late in 1439 may be regarded as a new effort to deal with a difficult matter. According to this, soldiers who received part of their wages “and so have mustered and been entered of Record the King’s Soldiers before his Commissioners, for such terms for which their Masters have indented, have presently after their Muster and the Receipt of part or of the whole of their Wages, departed and gone where they would — and

³³⁷ *Archaeologia* (London, 1814), XVII. 214–216.

³³⁸ This indenture was for one man-at-arms and six archers. As usual payment in advance for the first quarter “by way of prest” was stipulated. This would be wages of 4s. 6d. per day or £20 9s. 6d. per quarter. A hundred marks was worth £66 13s. 4d.

³³⁹ In this case it appears that Mathew Poule actually paid over £60. Suit arose because Poule contended that he had fulfilled his contract inasmuch as Corin and his archers mustered as agreed, but Charleton rebutted that they did so by reason of indenture between himself and Corin and not under Poule’s indenture. No court decision is recorded. PRO.CP 40/650. DXX. I am indebted to Professor C. H. Williams of the University of London for calling this case to my notice.

long within their Terms departed from their Captains and the King's Service, without apparent licence to them granted by their said Captains." It is, therefore, enacted that every man mustering "and receiving the King's Wages" who leaves his captain in this way "except that notorious Sickness or Impediment by the Visitation of God, which may be reasonably known, suffer him not to go, and which he shall certify presently to his Captain and shall repay his Money, so that he may provide him for another Soldier in his Place, he shall be punished as a Felon." Furthermore "that no Soldier, Man of Arms, or Archer, so mustered of Record, and going with his Captain beyond the Sea, shall return into England within the Term for which his Captain hath retained him nor leave his Captain there in the King's Service, and in the adventure of War, except that he hath reasonable Cause shewed by his Captain and by him to the Chief in the Country having Royal Power, and thereupon shall have Licence of the said Captain witnessed under his Seal, and the Cause of his Licence: and who that so doth muster of Record, and come without Letters Testimonial of the Captain as is said, within his Term on this side the Sea" shall be guilty of a felony and be subject to arrest by the port authorities to be held for inquiry before the justices of the peace.³⁴⁰

That this legislation proved more successful at that time than other means in effecting control over soldiers there is no reason to suppose. In the circumstances probably no available expedients could have produced results. But it is significant as an illustration of the way

³⁴⁰ Statutes of the Realm, 18 Henry VI. chap. 19.

in which the effort to meet the difficulties of a situation in some practical fashion brings about a fundamental change in the point of view. Probably the historian is more aware of that change than were the men who voted in Parliament. What he observes is more than twenty years of effort to find an efficient way of administering the army in the field on the contractual theory upon which that army had been organized for over a century. The failure of that effort has brought about a new conception of the military relationships. The performance of a private contract has come to be recognized as a public duty. What had previously been a violation of a contract, an offense against the other party to the agreement, has come to be recognized as an evasion of public duty and a crime against the king. Such an attitude of mind is a step towards a modern conception of an army.

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

FOR the most part the materials used in this investigation are the numerous fragments of what must once have been the voluminous files of the English Chamber of Accounts at Rouen. How and why these survived, to the considerable degree which they have, is obscure, inasmuch as they were not taken into either the French or English archives after the French reconquest of Normandy made them useless as administrative records. Scattered and then collected by individuals with antiquarian tastes, they have been subject during the past century and more to a gradual process of reassembly in various scholarly and archival centers. Every now and then today at auctions and in the catalogues of dealers in rare books and manuscripts notices of new ones appear. They are to be found mostly in the *fonds françaises* and *fonds françaises nouvelles acquis*, the *Pièces Originales* (P. O.) and the collection Clairambault at the Bibliothèque Nationale, the remains of the *Trésor des Chartes* at the Archives Nationales, the *Fonds Danquin*, which the French government distributed among the departmental archives in Normandy, smaller collections such as those of Mancel and Leber in the libraries at Caen and Rouen, and the Egerton Charters and Additional Charters at the British Museum. These can be supplemented occasionally with modern copies in the *Portefeilles de Fontanieu* at the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the volumes of Transcripts at the Public Record Office. Examples of the various types of docu-

ment in these collections have been published frequently and in considerable numbers by such scholars as Stevenson, Luce, Cosneau and Le Cacheux, or as *pièces justificatives* in the works of local historians such as R. Triger and V. Hunger. These scattered documents are also supplemented by the three account books of Pierre Surreau, Receiver-general of Normandy (Bib. Nat., fr. 4485, 4488, 4491), which have been studied by Beaurepaire and L. Jarry, and by the records of the English Exchequer in London (P. R. O., Exchequer Accounts, Foreign Accounts, Issue Rolls).

The documents which provide the basis for this study are those connected with the routine of the military-financial system. For each retinue in each year there would be the following records under ordinary circumstances: (1) an indenture between the captain and the king or the Regent, usually made in September and running for a year from Michaelmas to Michaelmas; (2) a warrant from the Regent to the treasurer, issued at the same time as the indenture or thereabouts, authorizing the payment of wages under the indenture; (3) a letter of expedition from the treasurer to the Receiver-general of Normandy, issued after verification of the indenture and other relevant records, directing payment in accordance with the warrant; (4) four commissions of array, one for each quarter of the fiscal year (beginning 29 September, 29 December, 29 March, and 29 June respectively), arranging for musters to be taken; (5) four muster rolls; (6) four *contrerolles*; (7) four quittances from the captain. To these nineteen ordinary documents would be added any necessary letters of relief respecting irregularities in the working

of the system, wherein the Regent, as the supreme authority, issued a special warrant to the treasurer directing payment "non obstant" the irregularity. These last are among the most interesting of all these documents, because they afford glimpses of the system on its human side, which is the angle from which the real working of any system should be observed whenever possible. In addition to the above there were also documents making assignments upon the local officials for paying the captains from their local receipts, but these do not affect the problem of military personnel and consideration of them is reserved for another time. What has been attempted here is a study, not of type examples of various documents, but of all the documents that could be found of all these types, in order to analyze the ways in which a system was built up to meet the conditions resulting from Henry V's conquest of Normandy, and from the efforts of his successors to hold that conquest through the most efficient management of their resources in men and money that they could devise, control and direct.

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